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Arthur Schopenhauer and China: A Sino-Platonic Love Affair

by
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Urs App
Swiss National Science Foundation

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To Arthur Schopenhauer,

philosophus extraordinarius

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PREFACE

One hundred and fifty years have passed since Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860) died in his spartan apartment on Frankfurt's "Schöne Aussicht" (Beautiful View) on the bank of the Main river. During much of his life he had been almost completely ignored, but after the publication of the *Parerga and Paralipomena* in 1851 his name gradually became known to the English, German, and French public. In the 1850s, the composer Richard Wagner and his circle in Zürich became avid readers of his works, and Schopenhauer's "evangelists" did their best to spread the word. Toward the end of his life Schopenhauer joked to a visitor that he felt like the poor stage hand who, as the "comedy of Schopenhauer's fame" is about to begin, is lighting the stage lamps when the curtain inadvertently opens and the public laughs at the embarrassed worker. After his death in 1860, Schopenhauer's works were translated into countless languages and began to be mercilessly hacked to pieces. Many of his essays were torn out of their specific context and published as separate works—yet they still sold well, mainly because the philosopher was an extraordinarily skilled writer with an uncanny ability to wring profound thoughts out of just about anything.

Today, 150 years after his lonely death, Schopenhauer might well be the most read philosopher worldwide. There is hardly a Chinese, Japanese, or Indian general bookstore that lacks some work of his (or, more likely, a hamburgerized piece of one), and the same can be said for bookstores in the West. On last year's trip to the island of Sardinia, the only trace of philosophy in the ferry's tiny holiday literature bookstore were five Italian books by Schopenhauer. I bought one with the title *Il mio oriente* (My Orient). It is in many ways a typical modern "Schopenhauer" book: a pastiche of fragments from Schopenhauer's published and unpublished works arranged by a more or less knowledgeable editor. The book's chapter titles sound interesting enough: "Me and Buddha," "Me and the Orient," "Orient versus Occident," "the veil of Maya," etc.; but these chapters contain disjointed statements written decades apart that are stripped of their original context. *Il mio oriente* thus reflects less Schopenhauer's Orient

than that of the editor whose concluding essay about "Schopenhauer and India" exhibits his predilections: India stands at the center while China and other parts of Asia are banned to the periphery. However, as I have shown in a number of publications, Schopenhauer's Orient extended considerably beyond the confines of India, and not even his India was the one we are familiar with today. His favorite book, Anquetil-Duperron's Latin translation of fifty Upanishads (*Oupnek'hat*), was heavily colored by Sufism and Neoplatonism (App 2006d, 2007), and Schopenhauer's interest in Buddhism was far more linked to Burma, Tibet, Mongolia, and China than to India (App 1998a, 2008a).

With regard to Schopenhauer's interest in India (App 2006c) and Buddhism (App 1998a, 1998b) I have noted that it is hard to find even a single publication whose author has studied Schopenhauer's sources from the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Thus Schopenhauer is often accused of not having known what we today are familiar with. For example, the Italian compiler of *Il mio oriente* criticizes Schopenhauer for having ignored Yoga exercises (Schopenhauer 2007:218), and Stephen Batchelor deplores that "although some of his contemporaries thought of him as a Buddhist, he preferred listening to music than sitting in meditation" (1994:259). The tendency to use modern sources and ignore what Schopenhauer himself read—or, in rare cases, to read Schopenhauer's European sources but fail to find out what Asian texts they are based on—continues unabated. In my campaign against this tendency and for more historical accuracy, I have so far traced the philosopher's encounters with Buddhism (App 1998a), Indian philosophy (2006c, 2006d, 2007, 2010b), and Tibet (2008a), and published transcriptions of almost all of Schopenhauer's early Asia-related notes (1998b, 2003, 2006a) and of his Weimar library lending record (2006c, 2008b).

There are numerous reasons why Schopenhauer's encounter with Asia is of particular interest. To name a few: Schopenhauer was the first Western philosopher to be influenced by Asian philosophy at an early stage when his system was not yet formed. He also was pre-modern Western philosophy's most voracious reader of translations of Asian texts, and he may well have been the earliest European to call himself a "Buddhist" (App 1998a). Moreover, from his teens to his death he kept philosophical notebooks that are extant today and permit the detailed reconstruction of the development of his views. With increasing frequency Schopenhauer is

named as the first or even the only major Western philosopher to have taken Asian religion and philosophy seriously. But there are also those who insist that he misunderstood it all. The very people who canonize Schopenhauer as the first "global" philosopher or criticize his understanding, however, habitually fail to study even his most important Asia-related sources (most stunningly, his favorite book, the Latin Upanishad translation; see App 2006d and my forthcoming book *Schopenhauer's Compass*). Research on these sources is not only crucial for understanding the genesis of Schopenhauer's thought and his relationship with Asian philosophies and religions but also for the history of the West's discovery of the East in general. It is a gigantic encounter spanning many centuries and involving many major and minor figures in East and West; and in spite of its long past it is still just beginning. Schopenhauer has a special place among the most interesting, important, and influential figures of this encounter not just because he was a pioneer of the West's discovery of Asian philosophies and religions but also because of the extraordinary richness of extant documentation for his encounter with Asian thought. Research that—instead of dreaming up grand theories and mistaking speculation for history—makes actual use of these extant sources and tries to see them in historical rather than speculative context is still in its infancy.

The present book addresses a domain that has hitherto suffered from the usual neglect of sources used by Schopenhauer: his relationship with China. The fact that the Chinese sources of Schopenhauer's main reading materials about China are here for the first time identified and described shows that so far very little has been achieved in this domain. After 150 years of Schopenhauer research, even the most basic questions still wait for answers. What did the philosopher learn about China in his youth and what did he read about it? What were his major sources about China, and what Chinese materials were they based on? How did he see China, and how did his views evolve? What was he primarily interested in, and how did this interest develop? Why did he write an essay on sinology and what does it contain? To such hitherto unanswered or even unposed questions (not all of which will be resolved in this book), I would like to add one that regards the title of my present contribution: why can one call his relationship with China a "love affair" of the "platonic" kind?

I would like to thank the editor of the *Sino-Platonic Papers*, Victor Mair, for his enthusiastic acceptance of this book to commemorate both the 150th anniversary of Schopenhauer’s death and the 200th issue of *Sino-Platonic Papers*. Both my forthcoming book *Schopenhauer’s Compass* and the present one were written in the context of a very generous Swiss National Science Foundation grant (SNSF grant 101511–116443; Oriental influences on the genesis of Schopenhauer’s philosophy). The support of my tax-paying Swiss compatriots makes research of this kind possible, and the innovative approach of Victor Mair and his *Sino-Platonic Papers* team to the promotion and free electronic distribution of scholarly work guarantees a breadth of readership that conventional print publishers can only dream of. To all people involved I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude.

1. The Smiling Pagoda (1803)

In his boyhood, Schopenhauer travelled widely all over Europe, spent two years in France where he learned perfect French, and studied English at a Wimbledon school. These language skills were instrumental in opening the door to publications about Asia. But Schopenhauer's father did not want his son to become a "breadless" scholar, and to entice him to a commercial career and show him the joys of wealth, he took his wife and young Arthur on a year-long journey through Europe (1803–4). One of the first stops was cosmopolitan Amsterdam. There, the fifteen-year old boy wanted to purchase a Chinese porcelain figure and noted in his travel diary:

> Wir stiegen in einem der vorzüglichsten Laden von ostindischem Porzellän ab. Wir fanden hier einen sehr mannigfaltigen Vorrath von chinesischen Sachen. Ich war eigentlich hergekommen, um einen chinesischen Pagoden zu kaufen, fand aber keinen wie ich ihn suchte, nemlich die kleinen sitzenden grotesken Figuren, mit dicken Köpfen u. freundlich grinsenden Gesichtern; über die man sogar in mißmuthigen Augenblicken lachen muß, wenn sie einem so freundlich lächelnd zunicken. Ich fand hier zwar viele sehr schöne Pagoden, große hübsche Figuren, in seidenen Kleidern, mit vielem Ausdruck, aber doch nicht die welche ich suchte. (Schopenhauer 1988:51)

> We alighted in one of the most excellent stores of East-Indian porcelain. There we found a most varied inventory of Chinese objects. My real purpose in going there had been to buy a Chinese pagoda. But I did not find the kind I was looking for, namely, one of those sitting figures with fat heads and friendly, grinning faces that make one laugh even in sullen moments as they nod at one with such a friendly smile. I found a great number of very beautiful pagodas, tall and pretty statues in silk clothes and with much expression, but they were not of the kind I was looking for. (Schopenhauer 1988:51; tr. U.A.)

In those days the word "pagoda" was commonly used for Asian statues. Schopenhauer's description makes it likely that he was not looking for a painted plaster figurine sold by Italian vendors, as Stollberg surmised (2006:8), but rather an imported porcelain figurine of the fat and jolly Budai who is commonly called "the laughing Buddha."



Fig. 2: Porcelain Budai figure in a Chinese Buddhist temple (Photo Urs App)

This figure, whose name literally means "cloth bag" (Ch. Budai, Jap. Hotei 布袋) is known as a bringer of luck in China and became also popular in Japan where he is one of the seven gods of luck (*Shichifukujin* 七福神). He is modeled on an eccentric Buddhist monk of the tenth century, and legend soon made him into a proverbial figure with all the hallmarks of a Zen iconoclast just as Zen became the dominant Buddhist movement in China. This happened in the twelfth century. We will see that several of Schopenhauer's main China sources date from this century during which the Budai legend merged with a series of oxherding pictures that use the metaphor of finding, taming, bringing home, and ultimately forgetting an ox. It stands for the quest to find one's true self, which in Zen texts often is equated with forgetting oneself. To show that this religious quest is not divorced from the world and has—like Schopenhauer's ethics—compassion as its ultimate aim, a version of this series ends not with an empty frame ("herdsman

and ox both forgotten") but with laughing Budai entering the marketplace with a bag full of compassionate gifts.



Fig. 3: Budai in the tenth oxherding picture (Suzuki 1978:129)

The twelfth-century Chinese Zen monk Kuoan Shiyuan 廓庵師遠 wrote a series of poems for this picture series. I translate his poem for the last picture as follows:

露胸跣足入鄽來
抹土塗灰笑滿顋
不用神仙眞秘訣
直教枯木放花開

Bare-chested and with naked feet / He bursts into the market
Covered in dirt and ashes / His face one big wide grin.
No need for secret recipes / From deities and immortals:
He simply has a withered tree / Erupt in blazing bloom.

Of course Schopenhauer knew nothing about all this. He was just looking for a friendly, funny face to brighten gloomy moments. Yet this unsuccessful search was a paradigmatic beginning of his relationship with China.

2. The Lay of the Land (1811)

Schopenhauer's first notes about China stem from his days as a university student in Göttingen. In the summer semester of 1811 he took a course in ethnography with Prof. Arnold Hermann Ludwig Heeren (1760–1842), a noted historian who was an India expert and for his time quite knowledgeable about Asia (App 2003:14–19). Schopenhauer took extensive notes of his ethnography course. My transcriptions of the sections related to Asia were published some years ago (App 2003, 2006a). I present the first English translation of the China part in Appendix 1 and will here only make a few remarks.

These notes do not represent Schopenhauer's personal interests but those of Professor Heeren. It is true that Schopenhauer missed few lectures by Professor Heeren and that notes from the various Heeren lectures add up to the greatest volume of the Göttingen manuscript corpus. But this does not mean that Schopenhauer was interested in China since his student days.

Much of the information about China supplied by Heeren was of an introductory nature. A brief survey of European literature about China including famous books by Jesuits and of recent reports of embassies is followed by a fair amount of geographical information: China's provinces, their main products, important cities, census numbers, the great wall, and the like. Heeren then briefly mentions the Mongol and Manchu conquests of China and discusses the political structure, class structure, commerce, and religion. It is interesting that Heeren, who was familiar with du Halde and various other Jesuit sources, mentioned only the religion of Fo (Buddha) and Lamaism and supplied almost no information. Also touched are some characteristics of the Chinese language and of its writing system.

With regard to philosophy only Confucius is mentioned by name, and the *Shujing* 書經 is called his main work. The China part of Heeren's lecture closes with brief remarks about the antiquity of China, its poetry and literature, its painting that knows no perspective, and its architecture that in ancient times was excellent.

3. A First Glimpse of Chinese Buddhism (1813–14)

The first trace of Schopenhauer’s own interest in Asia is a note in the lending register of the ducal (now Anna Amalia) library in Weimar. In early December of 1813, the twenty-five-year old Schopenhauer, who had just received his doctoral degree in philosophy, borrowed the two volumes of *Asiatisches Magazin* and did not return them until the end of March of 1814 (App 2006c:50). It is unclear who passed this reference to him and why he decided to get these volumes, but chances are that their editor Klaproth was involved. Julius Klaproth (1783–1835),[1] a renowned and ambitious orientalist with whose chemist father Schopenhauer had studied in Berlin,[2] was staying for two months in Weimar just when Schopenhauer borrowed the *Asiatisches Magazin*. Klaproth had founded this periodical during an earlier visit to Weimar when he helped Goethe cataloguing orientalia (Gimm 1995). In the fall of 1813, when Klaproth met Schopenhauer, he was preparing the publication of a geographical work.[3] Goethe, Weimar’s most famous resident, was at that time very interested in China, borrowed numerous China books from the ducal library, and questioned Klaproth about such things as a Chinese painting set (Stieger 1988:758).

The first volume of Klaproth’s *Asiatisches Magazin* contained an article about the “Fo-religion of China”, that is, Chinese Buddhism (Klaproth 1802). This was Schopenhauer’s earliest independent contact with Chinese religion and with one of its famous texts, the *Forty-two Sections Sutra*. Since the article was unsigned, the reader had to assume that it was by Klaproth. Unbeknownst to most readers, however, Klaproth had only translated a Buddhism-related section

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[1] See the list of biographical sources in Gimm 1995:559 ff.

[2] Klaproth’s father, Martin-Heinrich Klaproth, was professor of chemistry in Berlin and is known for his discovery of uranium.

[3] *Geographisch-historische Beschreibung des östlichen Kaukasus, zwischen den Flüssen Terek, Aragwi, Kur und dem Kaspischen Meere*. According to Gimm 1995:569 the introduction to this book is dated “Weimar d. 22. Dec. 1813”.

of Joseph de Guignes's *Histoire générale des Huns* that had been published almost fifty years earlier. In his 1756 work, the sinologist de Guignes had presented a theory that was taken as gospel by many of his contemporaries and apparently even by young Klaproth in 1802. De Guignes argued that the religion of Fo or Buddhism is a pan-Asian religion with two main branches: an exoteric one with a belief in the transmigration of souls and idolatric cults, and an esoteric one that teaches a kind of mystical monotheism. In this scheme, India's "Brahmanism" as well as Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism belonged to the exoteric branch of the religion of Buddha. The representatives of the esoteric branch—de Guignes's "Samanéens"—are represented, among others, by the "talapoins" or Buddhist monks of Siam. The doctrine of this esoteric branch of Buddhism, de Guignes argued, is found in one of the oldest (if not *the* oldest) text of Buddhism, the *Forty-two Sections Sutra*.[4] In the context of his presentation of Buddhism, de Guignes translated this sutra from Chinese into French. It was the first ever published translation of a Buddhist sutra into a Western language.

This presentation and translation formed the raw material for "Klaproth's" article on the religion of Fo. Though the German translation by Dähnert of de Guignes's entire work on the Huns had appeared three decades earlier (de Guignes 1768–71),[5] young Klaproth translated its Buddhism section anew (and with more mistakes) from French into German. Klaproth sought to impress his readers by a "translation from the Chinese" and learned footnotes (all by de Guignes), but this was cleverly disguised plagiarism.[6] Klaproth reproduced de Guignes's mistaken translations, repeated his fifty-year-old wayward theories, and generally added nothing of note

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[4] For detailed information about de Guignes's view of Buddhism, his sources, and its genealogy see my forthcoming *The Birth of Orientalism* (App 2010a).

[5] The first German translation of de Guignes's French version was by Dähnert (de Guignes 1768–71). The German version also formed part of the first European collection of translations from Asian sacred texts, the *Sammlung Asiatischer Originalschriften* that appeared in 1791 in Zürich (de Guignes 1791). Klaproth's translation was therefore already the third publication in German. Schopenhauer later also got hold of a German translation from a Tibetan original (Schiefner 1851).

[6] Klaproth translated even the footnotes of de Guignes without attribution; but in a note on p. 155, where he added a single sentence of his own, he brazenly asks the reader to "compare" this to de Guignes's work!

except for some distortions and a new conclusion. It immediately follows the plagiarized *Forty-two Sections Sutra* translation. Klaproth's conclusion replaces that by de Guignes and is diametrically opposed:

De Guignes, Huns (1756–58:1b.233–4) (trans. from French by Urs App)	*Klaproth, Asiatisches Magazin 1:165* (trans. from German by Urs App)
I thought I had to report here the greatest part of this text that forms the basis of the entire religion of the Samanéens. Those who examine it will find in it no more than a Christianity of the kind that Christian heresiarchs of the first century taught after having mixed Pythagoras's ideas about transmigration with some other principles from India. This text might even be one of those fake gospels that were current at that time; with the exception of some particular ideas, all the precepts given by Fo seem drawn from the gospels.	Such were the main principles of the pure teaching of *Fo*; but they became gradually mixed with so much mysticism that it [the pure original teaching] is hardly recognizable. He who examines it will find it is the source from which all so-called heretics of the first century drew; and maybe this was even the codex that the authors of the New Testament held in hand while writing. It is certain that many Christian dogmas, the reason for many religious wars, and the trinity of the divine being stem mediately from the doctrine of *Fo*.

De Guignes thus concluded that the *Forty-two Sections Sutra* was so heavily influenced by early Christianity that it could pass for a fake New Testament gospel. Klaproth, by contrast, suggested an inverse direction of influence. Just like Schopenhauer a few years later, Klaproth thought that Buddhism had deeply influenced Christianity. This is the only instance where Klaproth had significantly diverged from de Guignes's outdated script and made use of more recent information. With regard to doctrine, Klaproth could not offer more than a straight translation of de Guignes who—inspired by Brucker and Fréret as well as his mistranslation of

the *Forty-two Sections Sutra* (App 2010a)—portrayed the esoteric core teaching of Buddhism as a form of mystical monotheism. According to de Guignes, this was the doctrine of the Samanéens who represent the highest and most purified stage of transmigration:

Asiatisches Magazin 1:152–53	English translation (Urs App)
Dieses höchste Wesen ist der Urstoff aller Dinge; es ist von Ewigkeit her, unsichtbar, unbegreiflich, allmächtig, allweise, gut, gerecht, mitleidig, und stammt von sich selbst her. Es kann durch keine Abbildung dargestellt werden. Man kann es nicht anbeten und verehren, weil es über alle Anbetung und Verehrung weit erhaben ist. Aber seine Attribute kann man anbeten und verehren. Eben daher stammt der Bilderdienst der Indischen und Mittelasiatischen Völkerschaften. Der wahre Samaneer beschäftigt sich mit weiter nichts als über diesen grossen Gott nachzudenken, sich selbst zu zerstöhren und sich mit ihm zu verbinden, und sich im Busen der Gottheit zu verlieren, die alles aus Nichts hervorgebracht hat, und selbst nicht materiell ist.	This supreme Being is the *prima materia* of all things; it is eternal, invisible, incomprehensible, almighty, all-wise, good, just, compassionate, and has its origin in itself. It cannot be represented by any image. One cannot pray to it and worship it because it is far above any adoration and worship. But its attributes can be adored and worshiped. That is exactly the origin of the idolatry of Indian and Central Asian peoples. The true Samaneen occupies himself with nothing other than meditating about this great God, to annihilate himself and unite with him, and to lose himself in the bosom of the divinity that brought everything into being from nothing and which itself is not material.

Given Schopenhauer’s early interest in mysticism (App 2010b) one can assume that such passages did not go unnoticed; yet at this earliest stage of interest in Asia the *Bhagavad gita* received more attention (App 2006c:59–76). A German translation of this Indian classic was also

contained in Klaproth’s *Asiatisches Magazin*. In spite of numerous shortcomings, Klaproth’s journal occasioned Schopenhauer’s first encounter with Indian and Chinese religious literature.

As a teenager, Schopenhauer had not been able to identify the laughing Chinese porcelain figure whose smile he expected to brighten sullen moments. Ten years later, the freshly promoted doctor of philosophy encountered in Klaproth’s magazine a text whose Zen background was just as well disguised. Though the *Forty-two Sections Sutra* had for many centuries been hailed as one of Buddhism’s earliest texts and as the first Sanskrit scripture to reach China and to be translated into Chinese, this sutra is in reality a product of fifth-century China.

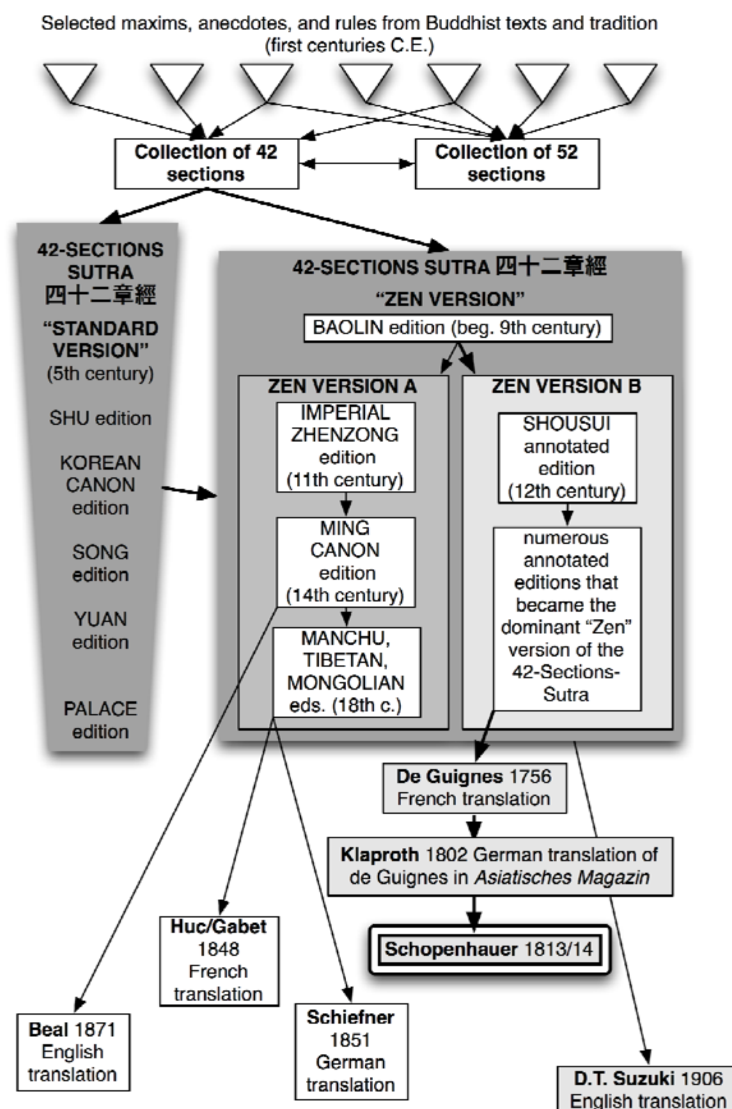


Fig. 4: The Chinese background of Schopenhauer’s first Buddhist text (Urs App)

In eighth-century China, various Zen teachings and phrases were inserted into a version of the text that later became the most popular edition. This "Zen" version was used by de Guignes. In spite of de Guignes's many mistranslations and overall theistic reading (App 2010a), the text retained a Zen flavor. For example, its evaluation of accomplished beings and buddhas ends with the claim that a hundred thousand million perfect buddhas are no match for a single person without attachment to action and dualistic thought:

> A hundred evil persons do not match one good man, and a thousand good men are not worth one who observes the five basic precepts of my teaching. Ten thousand such observers of my teaching are not equivalent to one *Sin-ta-tan* [who has one more rebirth], and one million of those are not worth one *O-na-che* [who must undergo no more rebirth]. Again, one hundred million *O-na-che* are much inferior a single *O-lo-han* [arhat who is free of desire and rebirth]. A thousand million *O-lo-han* do not match a *Pie-tschi-fo* [pratyekabuddha], and ten thousand million *Pie-tschi-fo* are not worth a single *San-tschi-tschii-fo* [one of the perfect buddhas of the three worlds]. Finally, a hundred thousand million *San-tschi-tschii-fo* do not match a man who does not do anything, does not think anything, and is absorbed in total unsusceptibility [Unempfindlichkeit] towards everything. (Klaproth 1802:1.159; trans. Urs App)

This is a typical insertion of the eight-century Zen adept who put his own words in the Buddha's mouth.[7] Such insertions played a major role in de Guignes's perception of the sutra and of Buddhism as a whole.[8]

Schopenhauer's first encounter with a Buddhist text was thus with an important and history-laden text from the Chinese Buddhist canon that I have identified as the first Buddhist sutra to be translated into a European language (App 2010a). Only in the twentieth century did

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[7] See Yanagida 1955 and Okabe 1967 for an analysis of such insertions.

[8] See Chapter four of my forthcoming *The Birth of Orientalism* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

researchers find that the *Forty-two Sections Sutra* had been manipulated by an eighth-century Zen adept, and the source of de Guignes's version is here identified for the first time. Schopenhauer's study of this text was thus not only his first encounter with Chinese Buddhism but also his second *incognito* brush with Zen. In Klaproth's alias de Guignes's article Schopenhauer read for the first time of Fo alias Buddha's life and his "teaching of emptiness" (Klaproth 1802:1.150–1). Moreover, Klaproth explained that this religion "is one of the most widely dispersed in the world because all people from Mustag to the shores of Japan in the East have adopted it with more or less modifications" (p. 169). Klaproth mentioned many countries where this religion reigned, from the extremely populous China and India to Burma, Siam, Ceylon, Vietnam, Mongolia, Siberia, Tibet, and Japan. His suggestion that this pan-Asian religion of Indian origin (and possibly even the *Forty-two Sections Sutra*) had profoundly influenced Christianity may have prepared the ground for similar views of Schopenhauer. But most of Klaproth's news were fifty years old and reached Schopenhauer exactly at the moment when his interest in India began to explode.

4. ASIATIC RESEARCHES (1815–16)

After the basic conception of his metaphysics of will in the course of 1814 and 1815 in which Anquetil’s Latin Upanishad translation played a central role, Schopenhauer studied several multi-volume histories of philosophy to situate his new system in historical context (App 2010b). From November of 1815 to May of 1816 he read the first nine volumes of the *Asiatick Researches* that had been mentioned by Prof. Heeren as reliable sources on Asian philosophy and religion and jotted down no less than 45 pages of notes (App 1998b). What concerns us here are only excerpts about Buddhism. They show how Schopenhauer identified several points of interest in this religion before the beginning of his redaction of *The World as Will and Representation* in 1817. While Buddhism exerted negligible influence on the formation of his metaphysics of will in 1814 and 1815, he used some of the information from the *Asiatick Researches* as illustration and support of his argument in his major work of 1818.

Schopenhauer’s notes from the first seven volumes of the *Asiatick Researches*, whose transcription is included in Appendix 2, show his interest in eight major themes related to Buddhism: (1) the identity of its founder;[9] (2) metempsychosis or the transmigration of souls;[10] (3) the fact that the perfect beings of the Buddhists are merely men;[11] (4) the existence of a large body of Buddhist texts;[12] (5) the large geographical coverage of the religion;[13] (6) the atheist

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[9] See the notes to volume one about Odin, Fo, and Buddha (p. 425) and the dating of Buddha (p. 425); volume two about the identity of Buddha and Fo (pp. 121–27); volume four about the double identity of Gotama; volume six about Wotan, Fo, Buddha, and Shaka (pp. 260–63) as well as Sesostris (p. 258); and volume seven (pp. 32 and 397)

[10] See the notes to volume six (p. 179) and volume seven (p. 32, p. 397).

[11] See the notes to volume six (p. 179, p. 180, p. 506, p. 530).

[12] See the notes to volume six (p. 513) and volume seven (p. 397).

[13] See the notes to volume four (p. 161, volume six (p. 179, p. 261, pp. 260–63, p. 506), and volume seven (p. 32, p. 397).

nature of Buddhism;[14] (7) its excellent system of morality;[15] and (8) its ideal of *nieban* or *nirvana*.[16] All of these first impressions had an impact on Schopenhauer's later image of Buddhism, but the last four were of particular importance for Schopenhauer's future relationship with China. In Schopenhauer's time, China was already known as the world's most populous nation, and this fact had played an important role in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century arguments about the *consensus gentium*: all peoples of the world agree, so the argument went, that there is a single supreme divinity. That there should be a large nation of atheists that was nevertheless renowned for its strict morality was perceived as a threat to established religion ever since Pierre Bayle had singled out China in his *Pensées diverses* of 1683 and subsequently in his much-studied *Dictionnaire historique et critique* of 1697. The question whether China's ancient religion was Noachic monotheism, a kind of sidereal cult, or even atheism was much disputed since Matteo Ricci had in 1615 voted for the first possibility; and the monotheist and atheist camps were pitched against each other in the famous Chinese Rites controversy that had its heyday around 1700 but was a topic of heated discussion for over 150 years.

Schopenhauer's notes show that he appreciated the importance of such an atheist religion with an enormous following. He highlighted the statement that "The Sect of Gotama esteem the belief of a divine being, who created the universe, to be highly impious" (note to vol. 6, p. 180) and remarked that they have a good system of morality yet are "ignorant of a supreme Being, the creator & preserver of the Universe" (note to p. 255). He was especially fascinated by the ideal of this religion, *Nieban*, "the most perfect of all states" that consists "in a kind of annihilation" (note to p. 180). This kind of "annihilation" and the conception of salvation as absence of suffering ("weight, old age, disease, and death") appealed to the young philosopher who had just forged a system in which annihilation of will is a central facet.

Thus it comes as no surprise that in *The World as Will and Representation* this religion without a God and its ideal of *nieban* received a place of honor in the fourth book and even in the

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[14] See the notes to volume six (p. 180, p. 255, p. 258, and p. 268).

[15] See the notes to volume six (p. 255 and p. 258).

[16] See the notes to volume six (p. 180 and p. 266).

final passage that ends with the word "Nichts" (nothing).[17] Since Schopenhauer had, thanks to his study of the *Asiatick Researches*, understood that Buddhism is also prevalent in China, the greatest nation of East Asia could serve as confirmation. But in Schopenhauer's major work, this role of Buddhism was still very limited and China played a negligible role. His knowledge about both was still very limited, and this state of affairs did not change during Schopenhauer's brief carreer as lecturer at Berlin University at the beginning of the 1820s.

[17] See Chapter 11 for mistaken interpretations of this passage.

5. The Chinese Dictionary Excerpts (1822)

For unknown reasons, Schopenhauer around 1822 wrote some excerpts from a Chinese-English dictionary into his notebook.[18] The dictionary in question is by Robert Morrison (1782–1834), a Scotsman who is known as the first Christian Protestant missionary in China. He worked in China for almost three decades and translated the Bible into Chinese, but his most influential achievement is a pioneering dictionary built on earlier work by Jesuit missionaries that included many phrases from Chinese literature with English translation. Schopenhauer's English extracts with page references, which were possibly made during his stay in Munich whose library owned a copy of Morrison's work, are from the dictionary's first volume. Schopenhauer's German notes that lack page references can also be traced to this volume.

These notes and extracts from Morrison reflect three main interests: (1) The first principle of Chinese religion and philosophy and its relation to theism; (2) The dating of Buddha; and (3) expressions of Chinese wisdom. Since I include all relevant pages in Appendix 3 with passages that were used by Schopenhauer in highlight, the third category is in no need of commentary. The second category consists of four brief notes in German. The first three simply offer German equivalents of Chinese terms and the fourth concerns the introduction of Buddhism into China. Though Schopenhauer did not jot down a page reference, his note about Buddhism is clearly based on the mistaken information given on pages 92–93 of Morrison's first volume (see Appendix 3). Here are these notes in German with my English translation

[18] The date of this last part of the *Reisebuch* is not entirely clear since there is an overlap with the *Foliant I*. Hübscher dates entries in this last part as stemming from "about 1822" (Schopenhauer 1985:3.703).

Schopenhauer 1985:3.55	*English translation (Urs App)*
Jin heißt Mensch: — *Jin* & *Jang* die 2 Pole in allen Gegensätzen.	*Jin* [*ren*] means human being: — *Yin* & *Yang* the two poles in all opposites.
Tëen heißt Himmel,	*Tëen* means heaven.
Die Lehre des *Fo* oder *Buddha* kam 250 *a. C.* nach China, wurde zuerst verfolgt: erst *A^o 50 p. C.* wurde sie vom Kaiser Ming angenommen. — Also ist Konfuzius (*A. a C.* 500) älter als die Fo-Lehre in China.	The doctrine of *Fo* or Buddha came to China 250 *B.C.* and was at first persecuted;[19] only in A.D. 50 was it accepted by Emperor Ming. — Therefore Confucius (500 *B.C.)* is older than the Fo doctrine in China.

It seems that Schopenhauer was still trying to acquire a basic historical perspective of Buddhism. This was typical of an age when speculation about Buddhism's early expansion to parts of Asia and Europe was rampant. For example, two years before Schopenhauer wrote this note, the famous geographer Carl Ritter (1820) proposed in all seriousness and with much documentation that an ancient form of monotheistic Buddhism had reached Europe in prehistorical times and left traces in names such as "Bodensee" (the lake of Bod = Buddha) which, I am happy to say, is beautiful Lake of Constance on whose Swiss shore I spent my childhood. But in the early 1820s such speculations began to be put to the test by the early crop of modern orientalists. It included Europe's first professor of sinology, Abel-Rémusat, whose chair was created in 1814, and Julius Klaproth whom we have already met as plagiarist of de Guignes's work. Both were involved in the foundation of the Société Asiatique in Paris and the redaction of its journal, the *Journal Asiatique*. This orientalist journal and the works of Abel-

[19] The English translation by Payne (Schopenhauer 1989:3.61) is, as in so many other instances, mistaken; he translated the German "verfolgt" as "followed" instead of its true meaning ("persecuted"). Today we know that no persecution took place in 250 B.C.E. since Buddhism was gradually introduced by Central Asian traders from around the first century B.C.E.

Rémusat and Klaproth were soon to become major sources of Schopenhauer about China and Buddhism.

Schopenhauer might have come across the Chinese terms for "man," "Yin and Yang," and "heaven" in many places in Morrison's large dictionary, but the information on Buddhism could be the result of a search for the word "Fo." However, Schopenhauer's notes related to topics one and three appear to be results of leafing through the volume rather than targeted inquiry. The excerpted information about the first principle is hidden in Morrison's explanations about the noun "mortar" (Morrison 1815:1.217) and the verb "to move" (p. 268). Both feature the concept of the "great ultimate" (Ch. *taiji* 太極). The first reads:

> Vol. 1. pag. 217 it says: "The Tae-keih (the first cause of Deity) contains 3 constituting ones." (Woo-king-choo). This sense of *Tae-keih* is confirmed by a sentence on the same page: "What is collectively denominated the Heavens & the Earth, is, in reference to the inherent Deity, call'd *Tae-keih*." — It must not however be supposed that all the commentators speak thus clearly on the subject. In the language of most of them it is difficult to discover anything of that personality which is necessary to the idea of Deity. They seem to speak of some principle of order or governance, but in which distinct personality is not perceived. (Schopenhauer 1985:3.55; 1989:60–1)

What Schopenhauer underlined in this excerpt ties in with an interest that was already apparent in his *Asiatick Researches* notes: the fact that the majority of humankind lacks belief in a supreme deity in the Judeo-Christian sense. This is also apparent in Schopenhauer's longest excerpt from Morrison's dictionary:

> ibid: p. 268 seq: — The words *Thung* & *Tsing* "Motion & Rest" enter essentially into the Chinese Cosmogony. "In nature there are the 2 states of motion & rest, revolving in uninterrupted succession: exclusive of these there is no operation. These (changes) are call'd *Yih* (the subject of the Yih-King Classic). But motion & rest must have a *Le*, or principle of order, which causes motion & rest: this is

> that which is call’d *Tae-keih* or the First moving cause.” — We add this first moving cause is the Deity an incomprehensibly great, wise, good & powerfull being, whose existence & perfection are declared by his works. The philosophical sect of the Chinese scarcely draws this natural inference. The principle of motion & rest does not seem, in their apprehension, what we express by Deity. They say, *Taekeih un Woo-keih* the extreme limit, or first moving cause, originates in *Woo-keih*, in that which is illimitable or infinite. —
>
> The first principle, in motion, is denominated *Yang*; at rest it is denominated *Yin*. “Motion & rest blend or operate, & so produce Fire, water, wood, metal, earth. These elements revolve one into the other as in a circle. Earth being constituted the female energy & Heaven the male, all creatures were produced & are continued in uninterrupted succession.” — It is perhaps impossible to free this system from the charge of Atheism, for though in it, gods are admitted, they are considered as beginning to exist & as inferior to Nature. (Schopenhauer 1985:3.55–6; 1989:61)

It is conceivable that Schopenhauer was curious about the Chinese notion of rest and motion / Yin and Yang as expressions of a polarity within an all-embracing first principle. However, the underlined words (“personality which is necessary to the idea of Deity”) seem to indicate that he focused on the fact that the Chinese see this principle not as a personal God and can thus be called atheists. Whatever interest Schopenhauer might have had, it still was so limited that he did not comment on these excerpts nor mention China for several years. But in 1826, four years after leafing through Morrison’s dictionary, China suddenly appeared in a new light.

6. The Dazang Yilan Digest (1826)

Already in 1821 Schopenhauer was planning a second edition of *The World as Will and Representation* (Schopenhauer 1985:3.88; 1989:97–8). Thankfully, he did not foresee that the public's disinterest in his work would continue for two decades and that his publisher Brockhaus would eventually decide to convert most of the first edition of Schopenhauer's masterpiece into pulp. Though the philosopher seemed supremely confident that the time would come when every word of his would be read with awe, his notes of the 1820s show an insecure man who did not quite know what to do with the rest of his life. Should he translate Kant into English? Correct a French translation of Goethe's works? Translate Hume into German? Learn Spanish? While he considered various options he was always on the lookout for confirmations of his philosophy in various fields, and orientalism was one of them. In Berlin he had access to many publications that reflected the rapidly expanding European interest in Asia. This was not yet primarily due to imperialist and colonialist designs but rather stemmed from the lack of answers to fundamental questions such as where the Europeans, their languages, and their religions had originally come from and how they related to the rest of the world. In this quest for origins the French, Germans, and English were at the forefront, and orientalists studying the archaeological and textual vestiges of the ancient Orient became arbiters whose expertise could confirm or reject grand theories such as Thomas Maurice's vision of Stonehenge as a Buddhist monument (1800) or Carl Ritter's idea of prehistoric Buddha worship in Europe (1820).

We have seen that already in 1802 young Klaproth had turned de Guignes's conclusions on their head by suggesting that the Christian evangelists had written their gospels with the *Forty-two Sections Sutra* on their laps. Klaproth was in good company. In France, Voltaire had since the 1760s pushed the idea that India was the cradle of humankind and claimed that the biblical Adam's real name was the Indian "Adimo"; and in 1790 his admirer, the noted orientalist Langlès, had even asserted that the Pentateuch of the Old Testament was only an imitation of the far older Indian Vedas! It was difficult to know whom to believe in such matters affecting, or

even undermining, one's faith. This is one reason why pioneer orientalist journals such as the *Asiatick Researches* and the *Journal Asiatique* were so avidly and widely consulted.[20] Residents of large cities were blessed with easy access to orientalist literature that primarily was of German, French, British, and Russian origin, and Schopenhauer with his language skills and Berlin library access was in a perfect position to take advantage of it.

In 1826, while looking through some volumes of the *Journal Asiatique*, he came across a confirmation of his philosophy that went beyond his wildest dreams. He wrote elatedly in his notebook:

> In the seventh volume of *Journal Asiatique*, Paris 1825, there are rather elaborate and exceedingly beautiful portrayals of the life and esoteric teaching of *Fo* or *Budda*, or *Schige-Muni*, Schakia-Muni, which are in wonderful agreement with my system. In volume 8, this is continued with the exoteric teaching that, however, is very mythological and much less interesting. Both are by Deshauterayes, who died in 1795. (Schopenhauer 1985:3.305; 1989:336)

Before we turn to Schopenhauer's excerpts that document this "wonderful agreement," a few words are needed about these articles in the *Journal Asiatique*. They are by the French Arabist and Sinologist Michel-Ange-André le Roux DESHAUTERAYES (1724–95) whose name is sometimes also spelled des Hauterayes or Leroux Deshauterayes. He was de Guignes's fellow disciple under the early French sinologist Étienne Fourmont (Leung 2002) and had tried his hand at translating parts of a Chinese Buddhist text. After his death in 1795 these unpublished manuscripts slumbered in his dossier in the manuscript department of the Bibliothèque nationale until Abel-Rémusat, Klaproth, and Landresse recognized their value and published them in the *Journal Asiatique* of 1825 where Schopenhauer found them in 1826.

Deshauterayes's translations probably stem from the 1770s or 1780s and are among the very earliest translations of Chinese Buddhist texts into a Western language. Though their publication was delayed for half a century, their impact was considerable. The best proof of this

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[20] For more information on this see *The Birth of Orientalism* (App 2010a).

is Schopenhauer whose love affair with Buddhism seems to have begun the day he came across this "extremely beautiful depiction of the life and esoteric teaching of *Fo* or *Budda*" and his "esoteric" teaching as portrayed by Deshauterayes. From this encounter until the end of his life in 1860 he was constantly on the lookout for information about this religion and read a vast amount of material in several European languages. Deshauterayes's text thus ignited a life-long love affair, and Schopenhauer did not tire of quoting and recommending this translation. But what Chinese text did Deshauterayes use? Because it included some Zen stories I knew since the mid-1990s that it had to be a Chinese Zen text (App 1998a:47). Though I made use of all the tools of the trade and questioned the most knowledgeable experts in the world including Prof. Seizan Yanagida, I could only trace bits and pieces to various texts but failed to identify a single source. However, thanks to the latest CBETA project DVD that includes texts from non-standard Chinese Buddhist canons, I finally managed to identify Deshauterayes's Chinese source. It contains, though sometimes in different order, all the passages translated by Deshauterayes and is a perfect match.

The text whose French translation triggered Schopenhauer's love affair with the "inner" doctrine of Buddhism is called *Dazang yilan* 大藏一覧 or *The Buddhist Canon at a Glance*. The preface to its ten books is dated 1157 and states that the text was compiled by a layman named Chen Shi 陳實. It is therefore a product of the Song dynasty, the "golden age" of Zen in China, and its content reflects this. The text's title suggests an overview of the Buddhist canon. Indeed, dozens of Buddhist sutras, other canonical texts, and various treatises and apocryphal texts are quoted. But overall they serve the author's intention to promote the teachings of Chinese Zen masters as apex of Buddhist doctrine, and this may be a reason why *The Buddhist Canon at a Glance* was for a long time not included in the standard Buddhist canons of China and Korea and not even in Japan's vast supplements to the Chinese canon (*Dainippon zokuzōkyō*). However, in the early seventeenth century the huge new Jiaxing Buddhist canon was compiled by a large association of Chinese laypeople and clergy, and through inclusion in this canon our text finally became canonical. It may be a print of this edition that was brought to Paris and fell into the hands of Deshauterayes who chose a few segments and translated them into French. The result of his efforts, after a 50–year long siesta at the Bibliothèque nationale, was published in the *Journal*

Asiatique and sent to Berlin where it delighted Schopenhauer who first read and later bought these volumes. He valued translations, and that is exactly what Deshauterayes furnished.

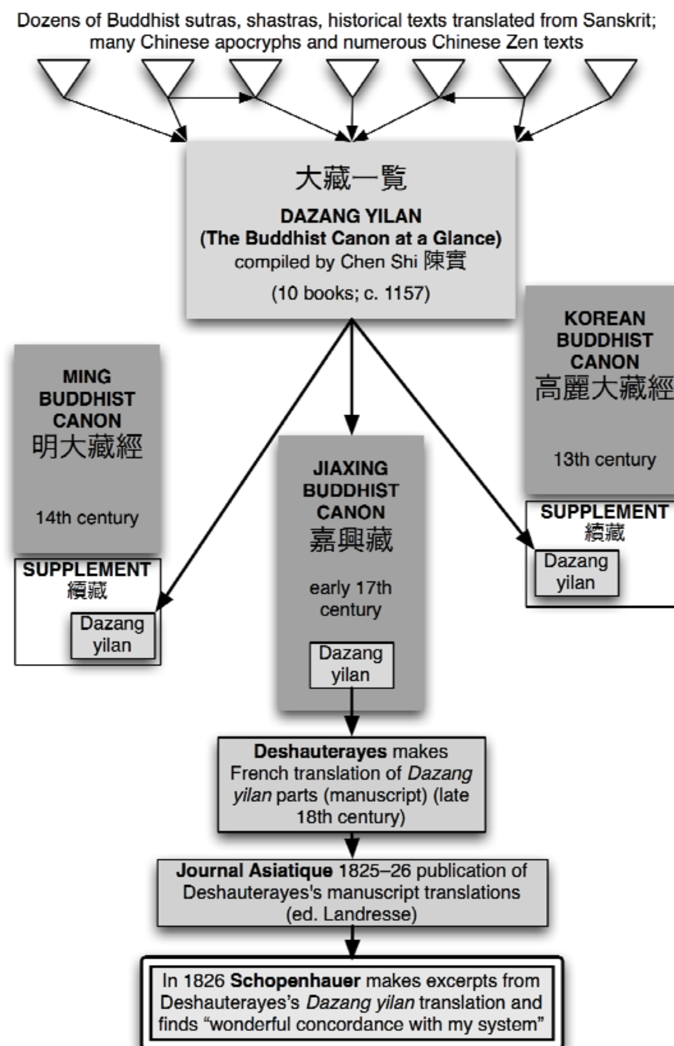


Fig. 5: The Chinese background of Schopenhauer’s second Buddhist text (Urs App)

In 1826, about a decade had passed since Schopenhauer’s encounter with the *Forty-two Sections Sutra* and the excerpts from *Asiatick Researches*. He had been so fascinated by the idea of “Nieban” or Nirvana that he mentioned it in his major work, *The World as Will and Representation* (1819). But in 1826, after seven years of being criticized or—even worse—ignored, the purportedly largest religion of the world seemed to come to his rescue.

The *Dazang yilan* is conveniently arranged according to topics. But Deshauterayes did not produce a straight translation of entire sections. Rather, he divided his presentation of Buddhist doctrine into an "interior" or esoteric and an "exterior" or exoteric section. It is futile to try to trace a transmission line of this categorization from Leibniz via Friedrich Majer to Schopenhauer (Gerhard 2008) because in the eighteenth century this idea was literally omnipresent in dictionaries, encyclopedias, and travel collections; and its use in Couplet (1687) and numerous other books from the seventeenth century proves that the idea is far older than Leibniz (App 2010a). De Guignes and Deshauterayes were thus not lonely exponents of a wayward theory that had to be transmitted, to use a Zen expression, "from mind to mind." Rather, they were in the company of extremely popular authors like Bayle, Brucker, and Diderot—not to speak of virtually all Jesuit authors. Deshauterayes explained this distinction, according to which he chose to arrange the *Dazang yilan*'s teachings, as follows:

> This sect [Buddhism] is the one of which the missionaries report that its doctrine is twofold: an exterior kind that admits the cult of idols, teaches the transmigration of souls, and forbids eating living beings; and an interior or secret kind that only admits emptiness or nothingness [le vide ou le néant], rejects both punishment and recompense after death, asserts that there is nothing real and that everything is illusion, and regards the transmigration of souls into the bodies of animals as a metaphorical passage of the soul into the brutal affections and inclinations of beasts. It is a doctrine that in this respect is wholly moral since its object is the victory of the soul over wayward affections—provided one accepts that there can be real morality where nothing is real. (Deshauterayes 1826:152–3; trans. Urs App)[21]

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[21] This portrayal by Deshauterayes tallies with Schopenhauer's distinction between "exoteric" metempsychosis and "esoteric" palingenesis, and it is probably here rather than in Majer or Leibniz (Gerhard 2008) that one ought to locate the inspiration. However, since this "esoteric-exoteric" divide is so ubiquitous in eighteenth-century sources and was also discussed in histories of philosophy such as Brucker's, it may be futile to try to pinpoint a single source and line of transmission in the eighteenth

This distinction between "inner" and "outer" doctrines of Buddhism reflects ideas originally gained in conversations with representatives of Zen Buddhism in sixteenth-century Japan (App 2007:19–23; 2010a). In the eighteenth century it had become commonplace, and Deshauterayes only repeated what so many others had written. But the time-lagged publication of this view in 1825 in conjunction with translations from a Chinese text artificially arranged under these two headings is of great interest for our inquiry. Deshauterayes did not follow the topical arrangement of the *Dazang yilan* author and began with the biography and geneaology of Buddha (Deshauterayes 1825:153–6) that Schopenhauer appreciated so much. The account of the Buddha's stages of meditation before enlightenment includes the following description of the ultimate stage and the resulting "veritable peace of mind" (p. 164):

Dazang yilan 大藏一覧 (447c9–12)	English translation (Urs App) of Deshauterayes's French translation (Deshauterayes 1825:164)
滅有對想。入識處。滅無量想。識唯觀識。入無所有處。離於種種相。入非想非非想處。斯處名為究竟解脫。是諸學者之彼岸也。	[Adepts of this fourth stage] enjoy the advantage of not imagining anything anymore. They neither hold on to imagination nor to the body and plunge into emptiness; they no more imagine that there are different things that are opposed to each other; they enter nothingness [le néant]; images make no impression whatsoever on them; and finally they find themselves in a state where there is neither imagination nor non-imagination [*inimagination*], and this state is called the total and final liberation: this is the happy shore that the philosophers rush towards.

Such passages, whose terminology reflects the Chinese author's Zen agenda, could well grace the pages of the fourth book of Schopenhauer's main work where mystics and saints point toward the sphere where philosophers cannot tread. The *Dazang yilan*'s Buddha and his disciples describe the ultimate goal in terms that Schopenhauer must have approved: "All intelligible or

century.

comprehensible things have their root in nothingness [le néant]; if you can keep to this root, you will deserve the name of sage" (Deshauterayes 1825:167). The last commandment of the Buddha in Deshauterayes's translation (which is based on a quotation in the *Dazang yilan* of the *Nirvana sutra*) also seems akin to the final passage of Schopenhauer's main work:

Dazang yilan 大藏一覧 (450a11–12)	English translation (Urs App) of Deshauterayes's French translation (Deshauterayes 1825:168–9)
一切衆生。皆因無明起諸愛結。役使身心。不得自在。若能諦觀十二因緣。究竟無我。深入本淨。 即能遠離三界大火。 此是最後付囑。汝當修行。	The entire assembly was touched to learn of his imminent extinction. When one of the disciples posed a question to him, he replied: Human beings, because of their imprudence and folly, engage in all sorts of cupidities and enslave themselves to them, which is why their mind is never at ease. If only they could clearly know the nothingness of causes and effects of everything that in their imagination exists, entirely empty their being [évacuer entièrement leur être], and follow the impression of this innate simplicity or purity that they are endowed with (that is to say, pure nothingness [le pur néant]), then they would no more think of the three worlds that now frighten them. This is my veritable doctrine; this is my last commandment.

In Deshauterayes's text, the initial biography of the Buddha is followed by explanations of the *Dazang yilan* about the names and attributes of the founder (1825:228–32), the definition of Buddhahood according to his disciples (pp. 232–38), and Deshauterayes's own reflections (pp. 238–43) about this religion whose doctrine has "two faces" (p. 238). These reflections conclude the part that Schopenhauer found so interesting, that is, the part about the "inner" teaching of Buddha. According to Deshauterayes's summary, it represents the essence of this religion:

> From all that we have said it is easy to see that both the disciples and their master have taught only one doctrine, and that this doctrine has two faces. The first

presents something real, and the second just emptiness or nothingness [le vide ou le néant]. It is also with regard to the latter ["inner"] side that—since it reduces everything to emptiness and nothingness—this religion is ordinarily called the gate of emptiness [la porte du vide]. Because it admits only a single and unique intelligent nature in the universe, it is also called the religion that equalizes or identifies all things. It follows that all things are one and the same thing, and that all is one; or rather that there is only *Fo*, only a single intelligent nature that exists, and consequently that there is neither matter, nor mind [esprit], nor body, nor soul. (Deshauterayes 1828:238–39).

Deshauterayes clearly followed the lead provided by the author of the *Dazang yilan* who peppered the Buddha's biography with Zen doctrines that emphasize "non-thinking" (*feixiang* 非想) and "no-mind" (*wuxin* 無心)[22] and presented Zen doctrine as the heart of the Buddha's "inner" teaching. Thus it is logical that the definition of Buddhahood in Deshauterayes's text should be furnished by a disciple of Bodhidharma, the legendary founder of Zen:

Dazang yilan 大藏一覧 (578c11–15)	English translation (Urs App) of Deshauterayes's French translation (Deshauterayes 1825:236–7)
首領波羅提諫之。王怒問曰。何者是佛。答曰。見性是佛。王曰。性在何處。答曰。我見佛性。王曰。性在何處。答曰。性在作用。	An Indian king asked a disciple of the Indian saint called *Tamo*[23] [Bodhidharma]: What is *Fo* [Buddha]? This disciple *Poloti* answered: *Fo* is nothing other than the perfect knowledge of nature, or of intelligent nature. The king asked, where does this nature reside? The disciple said: In the knowledge of *Fo*, that is to say, in the understanding by intelligent nature. The king repeated: Where does it then reside? The disciple rejoined: In usage and knowledge

[22] For an edition and translation of an early Zen text attributed to Bodhidharma that is representative of this line of teaching see App 1995.

[23] "And Indian king asked a disciple … *Tamo*" is an explanatory transition added by Deshauterayes.

王曰。是何作用。我今不見。答曰。今見作用。王自不見。王曰。於我有否。答曰。王若作用。無有不是。王若不用。體亦難見。	[l’usage et la connaissance]. What is this usage, since I do not conceive it? asked the king. *Poloti* retorted: In the very act of speaking you use this nature. He added: But you do not recognize it because of your blindness. The king: So this nature resides in me? The disciple: If you can use it, you find it everywhere; if you do not use it, you cannot discern the substance [discerner la substance].

This kind of repartee is typical of Zen texts, and this particular dialogue is popular in Chinese Zen literature. The teaching that Buddhahood means seeing one’s nature (Ch. *jianxing*, Jap. *kenshō* 見性)—translated by Deshauterayes as “perfect knowledge of nature”—is a quintessential Zen teaching and forms part of the most famous description of Zen:

教外別傳	[It is] a special transmission outside of scriptural teachings
不立文字	That does not establish words and letters.
直指人心	It points directly at man’s mind:
見性成佛	Seeing one’s nature means becoming a buddha.[24]

Since Deshauterayes’s Chinese text is now identified, we can take a fresh look at the passages that Schopenhauer not just read but copied into his notebook in 1826. He made three excerpts (Schopenhauer 1985:3.305–6; 1989:336–7) that all stem from the “inner teachings” part. The first is from *Journal Asiatique* vol. 7, p. 171. The first column of the following table shows the Chinese text of the *Dazang yilan* as contained in vol. 21 of the Jiaxing canon (Text number 109). The second column shows Schopenhauer’s excerpt.[25] The third column is my English

[24] Cf. App 1994:12.

[25] In Schopenhauer’s notebook it forms a single paragraph, but in order to facilitate comparison I chopped it into smaller segments.

translation of the French text copied by Schopenhauer, and the fourth column features my translation of the Chinese text.

Dazang yilan (531c20–25)	Deshauterayes’s translation (as copied by Schopenhauer 1985:3.305–6)	English translation of Deshauterayes (Urs App)	English translation of Chinese text (Urs App)
一切眾生。從無始際。由有種種恩愛貪欲。故有輪回。	De toute l’éternité, l’inclination au bien, ainsi que l’amour, la cupidité et la concupiscence se trouvent naturellement dans tout ce qui prend naissance. De là vient la transmigration des ames.	From all eternity, the inclination to good as well as love, cupidity and concupiscence are found naturally in everything that is born. From this comes the transmigration of souls.	All sentient beings have since beginningless time undergone transmigration because of various kinds of covetous love and attachment to desire.
若諸世界一切種性。卵生胎生濕生化生。皆因婬欲而正性命。	Tout ce qui naît, de quelque manière qu’il naisse, soit de l’oeuf ou du sein maternel, ou de la pourriture ou par transformation, tire sa nature et sa vie de la concupiscence, à laquelle la cupidité porte l’amour;	Everything that is born, in whatever way this happens—from an egg, a mother’s bosom, from rot, or from transformation—takes its nature and its life from the concupiscence to which cupidity leads love;	Regardless of the manner in which all species of the world are born—from an egg, from a uterus, from rot, or from transformation: all establish their nature and life because of sexual desire.
當知輪回愛為根本。	ainsi c’est de l’amour que la transmigration des ames tire son origine.	so it is in love that the transmigration of souls has its origin.	So you must know that the basis of transmigration is love.
由有諸欲助發愛性。是故能令生死相續。	L’amour, excité par les cupidités de tout genre qui l’induisent à concupiscence, est la cause de ce que la vie et la mort se succèdent tour-à-tour par la voie de la transmigration.	Excited by cupidities of all kinds that lead it to concupiscence, love is the cause of the continuous succession of life and death by way of transmigration.	Love arises through a variety of desires, which is why it is able to reign over the continuous succession of birth and death.
欲因愛生。命因欲有。	De l’amour vient la concupiscence, et de la concupiscence la vie.	From love comes concupiscence, and from concupiscence comes life.	From desire arises love, and desire is the cause of life.
眾生愛命。還依欲本。	Tous les êtres vivans, en aimant la vie, en aiment aussi l’origine.	All living beings, by loving life, also love its origin.	By loving life, sentient beings also depend on its basis, which is desire.
愛欲為因。愛命為果。	L’amour induit à concupiscence est la cause de la vie; l’amour de la vie en est l’effet.	Love induced to concupiscence is the cause of life; love of life is its effect.	Love and desire are the cause, and love of life is the effect.

Though there are some discrepancies between my reading of the Chinese text and that of Deshauterayes, the overall meaning of the Chinese text comes through clearly: "love" 愛, which in Chinese Buddhist texts commonly has the connotation of "attachment" rooted in desire, is the driving force and basis of transmigration (Deshauterayes: "so it is in love that the transmigration of souls has its origin"). Thus desire-driven love is portrayed as the cause, and love of life as the effect: a vision that Schopenhauer certainly agreed with. I suppose he saw this as a confirmation of his view of transmigration expressed before the publication of *The World as Will and Representation*, in the summer of 1817:

> Of all myths that have ever been devised, the *myth of transmigration of souls* is by far the deepest, most significant, and nearest to philosophical truth—so much so that I regard it as the *non plus ultra* [the supreme achievement] of mythical description. This is why Pythagoras and Plato have revered and used it; and the people with whom it prevails as a popular, general creed and exerts distinct influence on daily life is for this very reason to be regarded as the most *mature*, in addition to being the most ancient. (Schopenhauer 1985:1.479; cf. also 1988:531; trans. Urs App)

In accord with the presentation by Deshauterayes that was mentioned above, Schopenhauer held that the popular, "exoteric," mythical view of transmigration posited a kind of transfer of individuality "metempsychosis" or transmigration of souls (Seelenwanderung). By contrast, the "esoteric" or more philosophical view, as expressed in Deshauterayes's translation, regards such individuality-transfer as an illusory phenomenon and focuses on the underlying unchanging reality: will or desire.

This was Schopenhauer's first encounter with Mahayana philosophy, and it was a decisive one. Deshauterayes's *Dazang yilan* translations and his explanations about the Buddha's esoteric doctrine presented, so it must have seemed to Schopenhauer, solid first-hand evidence of a doctrine that reigned in wide swaths of Asia including China where Deshauterayes's text came from. In one of the excerpts that Schopenhauer copied into his notebook, the founder of this doctrine expressed his vision as follows:

Dazang yilan (450b11–14)	Deshauterayes's translation (as copied by Schopenhauer 1985:3.305)	English translation of Deshauterayes (Urs App)	English translation of Chinese text (Urs App)
我以佛眼。遍觀三界。	De mes yeux de *Fo*, je considère tous les êtres intelligibles des trois mondes;	With my Buddha-eyes I consider all perceptible beings of the three worlds;	When I observe the threefold world with my Buddha-eyes,
一切諸法。性本解脫。	la nature est en moi, et par elle-même dégagée et libre de tous liens;	nature is in me, and it is by itself unencumbered and free of all bonds:	[I see that] all phenomena are by their very nature delivered from bondage.
於十方求了不能得。	je cherche quelque chose de réel parmi tous les mondes, mais je n'y puis rien trouver;	I look for something real in all three worlds but cannot find anything:	Having searched in all ten directions, there is nothing that can be grasped;
根本無故。所因枝葉。皆悉解脫。	et comme j'ai posé la racine dans le néant, aussi le tronc, les branches et les feuilles sont anéantis;	and because I have put my root into nothing, also the trunk, the branches and the leaves are annihilated:	and since there is no root, all the branches and leaves are also free of bondage.
	(c'est-à-dire qu'il n'y a rien de réel, parce que, selon lui, c'est ignorance de croire qu'il y ait quelque chose de réel; et n'y ayant rien de réel, la vieillesse et la mort ne sont qu'un songe);	(this means that there is nothing real because, according to him, it is ignorance to believe that there is something real; and since there is nothing real, old age and death are also only a dream);[26]	
無明解脫故。乃至老死。皆得解脫。	ainsi lorsque quelqu'un est délivré ou dégagé de l'ignorance, dès-lors il est délivré de la vieillesse et de la mort.	so as soon as someone is freed or liberated from ignorance, he is also liberated from old age and death.	Because of deliverance from ignorance, there is even liberation from old age and death.

[26] This explanation, which Deshauterayes (1825:171) inserted in parentheses in his translation, was not copied by Schopenhauer.

Compare this portrait of deliverance with the one he had almost a decade earlier offered as the culmination of the fourth and last book of his main work:

> Rather, we confess freely: what remains after the total voiding [Aufhebung] of will is for all those who are still full of will indeed nothing. But conversely, for those in whom the will has turned and negated itself, our world that seems so real, with all its suns and milky ways, is—Nothing. (Schopenhauer 1977:508)

Apart from the two excerpts from Deshauterayes's translation that were presented above along with my translation of the Chinese source text, Schopenhauer made a third excerpt. It stemmed not from Deshauterayes's translation but from his description of the Buddha's inner teaching:

> pag: 242 . . . These three sects (in China, that is, the Hochang bonzes—sectarians of Fo—, the Taossee bonzes, and the philosophers) all agree about the principle that all things are but one, that is to say: since the matter of each particular being is a portion of the primary matter [matière première], their forms are also only parts of the universal soul [âme universelle] that constitutes nature and that fundamentally is not at all really distinct from matter. (Schopenhauer 1985:3.306)

The view of a pan-Chinese (and more often even pan-Asian) doctrine of "all-oneness" had long been associated with the "inner" doctrine of Buddhism (App 2010a), and Deshauterayes's view reflects a standard perspective of the second half of the eighteenth century. What was new is the textual evidence for this inner doctrine in original texts. Deshauterayes's presentation of this "inner doctrine"—Zen-drenched as it was—served Schopenhauer as a kind of Platonic idea. Such ideas are forms or patterns of categories of things in which individual things participate. They are considered eternal, changeless, only apprehensible by the mind, and do not exist as concrete things. Schopenhauer's "inner doctrine of Buddhism" is such an idea: an *Idealtypus* in which not just Buddhism but also other religions could, as it were, participate. Though some characteristics of it had, as we have seen, emerged a decade earlier, Deshauterayes's clean-cut

distinction between “inner” and “outer” teachings of Buddhism and his textual evidence now gave it definition.

Schopenhauer’s establishment of an *Idealtypus* (ideal type) of religion is evident in the very note after the Deshauterayes extracts. There he discerned two major categories of “world-religion” (Welt-Religion). The first comprises optimistic, theistic, and realistic religions like Zoroastrianism and Judaism. They are optimistic and theistic in positing a good God who created a good world and in attributing evil to Ahriman or Satan; and they are realistic because they take the world of representation for real, think that it has a beginning and end, and regard their laws as eternal. The second major category of religion, by contrast, is pessimistic, atheistic, and idealistic. In his note just after the excerpts from Deshauterayes, Schopenhauer explains:

> The other world-religion is that of the Vedas or Samanaism; from it stems Buddhism (doctrine of Fo, Gotama, Shigemuni) and the Christianity of the New Testament in the strictest sense: it has the Avatar; its character is knowledge of the world as mere phenomenon, existence as an evil, salvation from it as goal, total resignation as the way, and the avatar as master of the way. — They do not have theism in the proper sense and allow images. This latter, according to my view, is the religion of truth. (Schopenhauer 1985:3.308; cf. 1989:338).

Schopenhauer’s “religion of truth” is thus idealistic (“the world as a mere phenomenon”), pessimistic (“existence as an evil”), atheistic (“the avatar as master of the way,” “not theistic in the proper sense”), and mystic (“total resignation as the way”). The original home of this ideal type is India, and two of its major expressions are the religion of the Vedas (which for Schopenhauer then signified the religion of the Latin Upanishads) and Buddhism. Christianity was for Schopenhauer also an Indian offshoot whose pessimistic essence is foreign to Judaism: a religion whose world is a sea of sin and whose avatar shows the way through compassionate self-sacrifice. But now he saw, thanks to Deshauterayes’s translations and commentary, a type of religion on the Eastern horizon that seemed to embody the *Idealtypus*: the inner doctrine of Buddhism.

7. The Chinese Cosmology Excerpts (1828)

In the 1820s, Asia-related journals proliferated and the volume of information about Asia's religions was exploding. Schopenhauer was an avid reader of such publications and learned, for example, to identify the cardinal virtues of the Chinese (1985:3.342–30). In volume 22 (1826) of the *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India and its Dependencies*, one of the most important sources of orientalist information, he found an unsigned article entitled "Chinese theory of the Creation" of which he made two excerpts in his 1828 notebook . For the convenience of the reader I included this short article in Appendix 5 and highlighted the pertinent passages. The unnamed author of the article accuses the Chinese of "vagueness of … notions respecting the creation of the world" that is "demonstrated even by the terms they employ when speaking of the various subjects and things connected therewith" (p. 41). What follows was copied in the first excerpt by Schopenhauer:

> In the Asiatic Journal, Vol. 22, anno 1826 pp. 41 & 42, article *Chinese theory of the Creation*. The word *Teen* would seem to denote *the highest of the great or above all what is great on earth*: but in practice its vagueness of signification is beyond all comparison greater than that of the term *Heaven* in European languages & s. p. (Schopenhauer 1985:3.389; 1989:424)

The author then deplores "the latitude in which the Chinese indulge" that makes it impossible to decide whether *tian* 天 (heaven) signifies "a supreme intelligent being, or the material heavens," and he adds two quotations from "one of their most esteemed writers, Choo-foo-tze." Schopenhauer copied these quotations:

> Choo-foo-tze tells us "that to affirm that heaven has *a man* (i.e. a sapient being) there to judge & determine crimes, should not by any means be said; nor, on the other hand, must it be affirm'd that there is nothing at all to exercise a supreme control over these things."

> The same author being asked about the *heart of heaven*, whether it was intelligent or not, answered: "it must not be said that the mind of nature is unintelligent; but does not resemble the cogitations of man." — (Schopenhauer 1985:3.389; 1989:424)

The author of the *Asiatic Journal* article added two more passages from a Chinese text about heaven (*tian*), followed by a remark underlined by Schopenhauer that became his pretext for the Sinology essay. He wrote in his notebook:

> According to one of their authorities "*Teen* is call'd ruler or sovereign (choo) from the idea of the supreme control" & another expresses himself thus: "Had heaven (Teen) no designing mind, then it must happen that the cow might bring forth a horse, & on the peach-tree be produced the blossoms of the pear." On the other hand, it is said that the mind of heaven is deducible from what is the will of mankind! — (Schopenhauer 1985:3.389; 1989:425)

Schopenhauer noticed that the anonymous author of the article repeatedly quoted the entry on *T'hëen* from pp. 578–580 of the first volume of Morrison's dictionary, but unfortunately he had not taken note of this in his perusal of Morrison's dictionary in 1822. Schopenhauer asked his old acquaintance, the sinologist Julius Klaproth, about the underlined phrase but did not learn much:

> In reply to an inquiry about this *Chinese dogma J. Klaproth* replies: I have not found in any of the Chinese philosophers known to me the sentence "that the mind of Heaven is deducible of the will of man," nor do I believe that it fits in with the system of *Tu-kiao* [*rujiao*, Confucianism]. Just as little can it belong to the school of *Tao szü* [*daoshi*, Daoists]; and I do not see how it could tally with the fundamental principles of esoteric or exoteric Buddhism. It seems to me probable that the above English phrase is nothing but a mistaken translation of the Chinese proverb *hominis voluntas superat coelum* [man's will prevails over

> heaven]. — There is no relying on English translations. — (Schopenhauer 1985:3.389–90; 1989:425; trans. Urs App)

The fact that Schopenhauer had so quickly inquired about the sentence "that the mind of heaven is deducible from what is the will of mankind" and also looked for statements on heaven by Jesuit China missionaries in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (Schopenhauer 1985:3.390) shows that it had struck a nerve. Schopenhauer's explanation is found in his Sinology essay: he feared that he might be accused of having stolen the central doctrine of his philosophy from a Chinese book. We will see that this was only a (not very convincing) pretext for the sinology essay. But that does not diminish the impact this discovery must have made: did some Chinese philosopher first discover that one can understand the essence of everything by using man's will as a lead? This was what Schopenhauer's famous "Analogieschluss" was based on: our inner urges, for example sexual desire or hunger, that we know more intimately than anything else, can function as a guide to our understanding of the cosmic energy of which everything consists.

8. The Sinology Essay (First Edition 1836)

Once Schopenhauer's platonic idea of Buddhism's core doctrine had taken form through Deshauterayes's translations from the *Dazang yilan*, his consumption of publications about Buddhism rose by leaps and bounds. What he found did not always correspond to the ideal type established in his mind, but even in publications of which he disapproved because of their divergence from this type (such as Upham's *The History and Doctrine of Buddhism*[27]) he found evidence for some of the characteristics that he had discerned in the days when he took notes from volume six of the *Asiatick Researches*: asceticism, the huge number of believers, atheism, suffering as man's normal state, an end of suffering (nirvana), an excellent system of morality that does not discriminate against animals, and the view of the savior as an accomplished human being rather than a god. Though translations of Buddhist texts were still rare around 1830, he searched for portrayals of Buddhism that matched his ideal type. Around 1830 he already collected information about Chinese Buddhism from Deshauterayes, Klaproth, and Abel-Rémusat; about Mongolian and Tibetan Buddhism from Isaak Jakob Schmidt; about Nepalese Buddhism from Hodgson; and about Ceylonese Buddhism from Upham. By 1832 he saw his own experience as a young man reflected in young Buddha's realization of suffering and wrote:

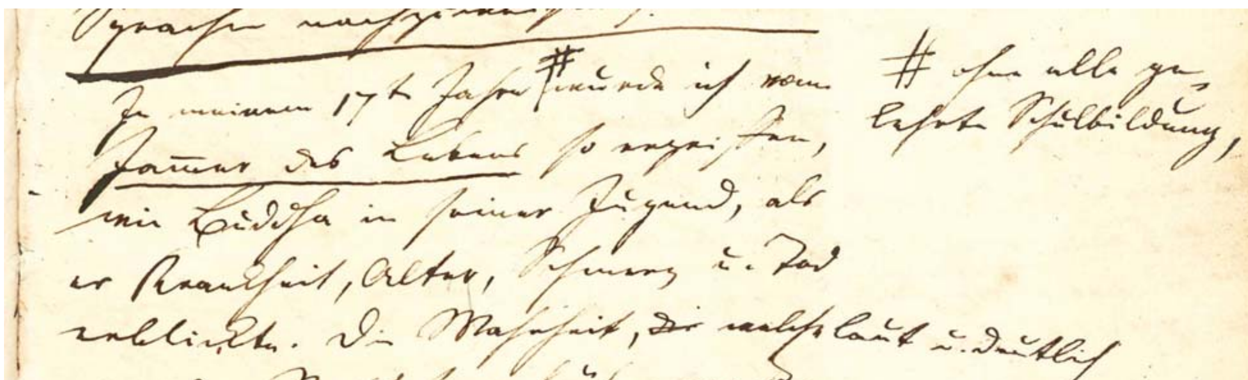


Fig. 6: Detail from Schopenhauer's *Cholerabuch* p. 89 (www.schopenhauersource.org)

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[27] Schopenhauer 1985:3.621–2; 1989:675–6.

In meinem 17ten Jahre ohne alle gelehrte Schulbildung, wurde ich vom *Jammer des Lebens* so ergriffen, wie Buddha in seiner Jugend, als er Krankheit, Alter, Schmerz und Tod erblickte. Die Wahrheit, welche laut und deutlich aus der Welt sprach, überwandt bald die auch mir eingeprägten Jüdischen Dogmen, und mein Resultat war, daß diese Welt kein Werk eines allgütigen Wesens seyn könnte, wohl aber das eines Teufels, der Geschöpfe ins Daseyn gerufen, um am Anblick ihrer Quaal sich zu weiden: darauf deuteten die Data, und der Glaube, daß es so sei, gewann die Oberhand. — (Schopenhauer 1985:4a.96)

At age seventeen, without any advanced schooling, I was as overwhelmed by the *wretchedness of life* as the Buddha in his youth when he saw illness, old age, pain, and death. Soon enough, the truth, proclaimed loudly and clearly by the world, overcame the Jewish dogmas that I had also been indoctrinated with, and the result for me was that this world cannot be the work of an all-good being but rather of a devil who had brought creatures into existence in order to gloat over the sight of their anguish. This is what the data indicated; and my belief that this is the case gained the upper hand. — (trans. Urs App; cf. Schopenhauer 1990:119)

This passage shows that he saw a "wonderful agreement" between his philosophy and Buddhism not only in the conception of salvation (nirvana) but also in the view of life as suffering: samsara or, as the Chinese render this Sanskrit concept, birth-death 生死. This short note from 1822 explains concisely what Schopenhauer meant by the term "pessimism": for him it was nothing other than realism. He used the term as an antidote to Leibniz's "optimism" (Dörpinghaus 1997) and labeled religions as "pessimist" that acknowledge suffering, evil, and sin as fundamental to the world.[28]

[28] While one can argue about the history of the modern meaning of "pessimism" as well as the judiciousness of Schopenhauer's use of this term, the common assertion that Schopenhauer had a "pessimistic" misunderstanding of Buddhism is proof of a mistaken notion of what Schopenhauer

When Schopenhauer in 1836 published a small book titled *The Will in Nature* he intended it to be, as the subtitle stated, "a discussion of the confirmations that the philosophy of the author has since its publication received from the empirical sciences." The chapter titles show what he meant by "empirical sciences": physiology and pathology, comparative anatomy, plant physiology, physical astronomy, linguistics, animal magnetism and magic, and sinology. Though sinology does not fit at all into the framework of "empirical sciences," it fulfills an important function in Schopenhauer's book and is strategically positioned at the end to deliver the knockout punch: Schopenhauer's philosophy is not only confirmed by the empirical sciences but also by the most populous nation on earth. To be precise: it is backed up by the vast majority of China's 361.5 million people according to the 1813 census (Schopenhauer 1836:126). And since the largest population, according to Schopenhauer, implies "the most advanced civilization" (p. 126), he could invoke not only quantity but also quality.

In the first edition of the Sinology essay, Schopenhauer only mentions three religions of China:

(1) a pre-Confucian doctrine of reason or the order of the world" that is said to have taught "the great One, the lofty summit" as the world's inherent principle but "seems now to have receded to the background" with its teachers despised (p. 126). It is unclear what Schopenhauer meant by this ur-doctrine centering on the great One (*taiyi* 太一) and the "lofty summit" (*taiji* 太極), but in the second edition he used some of the same terms and phrases for Daoism and mentions both the *Classic of the Way and its Power* (*Daodejing* 道德經) and Daost priests (*daoshi* 道士). We must thus assume that this "religion of reason," in spite of its description as far older than Confucianism, is the teaching of Dao (*daojiao* 道教).

(2) the "wisdom of Confucius" that teaches just "a trite moral philosophy not backed up by metaphysics" and is only for "scholars and politicians" (pp. 126–7).

(3) the "lofty, loving teaching of Buddha, whose name is pronounced Fo in China" that reigns with the "great mass of the nation" (p. 127).

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understood by the terms "pessimist" and "pessimism."

Schopenhauer's lack of knowledge about Daoism is quite astonishing. For at least two centuries, virtually all descriptions of China's religious landscape had included information about it and its legendary founder Laozi. They also contained much information about China's oldest religion. While there were disagreements about the monotheistic, polytheistic, pantheistic, or atheistic character of China's most ancient religion, nobody thought that religion was Daoism. Many encyclopedias, travel accounts, and of course well-known books about China such as Ricci (1615, 1617) and du Halde (1736) contained descriptions of Daoism that made its legendary founder Laozi roughly contemporary with Confucius. In the second edition of his Sinology essay, Schopenhauer corrected his embarrassing faux-pas by adding an entirely different ancient religion; but the fact remains that the first edition shows a surprising degree of ignorance for someone who wanted to claim the support of 300 million Chinese. That was exactly Schopenhauer's aim in this essay. His strategy consisted in (1) emphasizing China's huge population and high level of civilization; (2) showing that Buddhism is China's only dominant religion with whose core teaching even the other two religions agree; and (3) portraying his idea of the "inner doctrine" of Buddhism as the ideal type in which not only Chinese Buddhists participate but the majority of Asian peoples and therefore of humanity.

After less than one page, Schopenhauer has already almost reached at that goal: Not only a handful of scientists from Europe confirm his philosophy, but it is backed by the majority of humanity since the ideal type of Buddhism "rules in the greatest part of Asia," has "more than 300 million faithful," and is thus "of all religions on this planet probably the largest" (p. 12). Schopenhauer's Sinology essay is reproduced in synoptic form in Appendix 8 and the reader can easily see how much of Asia is now summoned to confirm Schopenhauer's Platonic idea. The continent seems to be filled with pessimists, idealists, and animal-loving atheists.

In 1836 Schopenhauer was able to recommend only three publications to his readers "for the general study of the life and teaching of the Buddha":

> For general knowledge about his [the Buddha's] life and teaching I especially recommend the beautiful biography of him, as it were the evangile of the Buddhists, by Deshauterayes in French in vol. 7 of the Journal Asiatique Par[is]

> 1825. — Likewise one finds much valuable information about Buddhaism in the Mélanges Asiatiques by Abel-Rémusat Vol. 1 1825 — as well as in J. J. Schmidt's History of the East Mongols 1829. — And now that the Asiatic Society of Paris finally has taken possession of the Gandschur or Kaghiour we can with joyful expectation look forward to a presentation of Buddhaism on the basis of these canonical books themselves. (Schopenhauer 1836:127; trans. Urs App)

The only translation of a Buddhist text was by Deshauterayes. Schmidt translated a historical text but included some notes about Buddhist doctrine that Schopenhauer appreciated, for example a characterization of nirvana as "gänzliche Reinigung von allem irdischen Wollen" (total elimination of all earthly willing; Schmidt 1985:325). Abel-Rémusat's *Mélanges Asiatiques* contained mostly details about the history and texts of Buddhism, and Schopenhauer eliminated this reference in the second edition of his Sinology essay. In 1836 Schopenhauer thus had very few publications to recommend beyond Deshauterayes's translations from the *Dazang yilan*. The Chinese text that had in 1828 triggered his love affair with Buddhism's inner doctrine was still the only Buddhist text he could summon as confirmation of his philosophy.

The rest of the Sinology essay, which is devoted to excerpts from the Chinese cosmology article we discussed in Chapter 7, is presented by Schopenhauer as the essay's *raison d'être*. However, it offers so little confirmation of his philosophy that it looks more like a pretext for the presentation of the real confirmation, namely, the inner doctrine of Buddhism that under Schopenhauer's hands had grown into the creed reigning over most of Asia. Compared to such an enormous mass of supporters, the views of a small minority of Chinese literati and a handful of missionaries about the meaning of *tian* 天 (heaven) would seem to be of no import. If Buddhism is as prevalent in China as Schopenhauer claimed: why bother with the term "heaven"? In the best case, the quotations adduced by Schopenhauer could show that *tian* signifies not God but physical heaven or some kind of a universal force; but what would be the good of that? Even if one were to translate the Chinese *tian* into Schopenhauer's *will* or into *will of nature*, the Chinese message would not be exactly earth-shattering: this will of nature is neither intelligent nor unintelligent, does not resemble a personal God, and produces peach blossoms on peach trees.

But what about the plagiarism charge against which Schopenhauer sought to defend himself? Noone except Schopenhauer ever thought of raising such an accusation. Why would anyone think that a German philosopher, who published his system in 1818, had stolen his central thought from an obscure article on Chinese cosmology published in 1826? It was easy to convince the readers of the absurdity of such a charge. But it is harder to explain Schopenhauer's passivity. As his notes from 1828 show, he knew very well that the cosmology article drew much of its information from Morrison's dictionary (published in 1815), and he had already leafed through that very dictionary volume in 1822. Since he resided in Berlin for several years after reading the article on Chinese cosmology in 1828 the question arises: why did he not go to the library and look up the word "tëen" (*tian*) if this worried or interested him so much? After moving to Mannheim and Frankfurt he did not have access to Morrison's work. Thus we must assume that he first considered the possibility of a possible plagiarism accusation after 1832, that is, no less than four years after reading the article. The article's statement about the deductibility of the mind of heaven from the will of man struck him enough to ask Klaproth about it, but apparently not enough to go to the Berlin library to check its probable source in Morrison. The potential plagiarism accusation thus seems to be a ploy that allowed Schopenhauer to present information about Buddhism which he saw as the real confirmation but could not quite subsume under the label "sinology."

Be this as it may: in the second part of his Sinology essay, Schopenhauer focused on the phrase of the 1826 Chinese cosmology article "On the other hand it is said, that <u>the mind of Heaven is deducible from what is the Will of mankind</u>" (Schopenhauer 1836:134). He asserted that he searched in vain in all available China-related sources and asked a famous sinologist (Klaproth) who could not help him either. Thus, in the end, no conclusion about this phrase is reached and everything is left hanging in the air. "Sinology" and its mere handful of Western representatives seem to have nothing to offer in this respect, and "confirmation" of Schopenhauer's philosophy along this line—if any was to be expected and if it mattered at all—seemed a remote prospect. After a strong beginning where millions of Chinese and the entire Buddhist world are called upon as witnesses, Schopenhauer's essay thus fizzles out with a statement about the West's fragmentary knowledge of China, the small number of sinologists,

and the prospect that it could take many years until the mind-of-Heaven = will-of-mankind “dogma” is clarified (p. 135).

9. The Sinology Essay (Second Edition 1854)

In 1844, when the second edition of *The World as Will and Representation* finally appeared, Schopenhauer wrote in the volume of explanatory essays:

> Were I to take the results of my philosophy as the measure of truth, I would have to prefer Buddhism to all other [religions]. At any rate, I cannot but be pleased to see such great agreement between my teaching and the majority religion on earth, the religion that counts more adherents than any other. This accord [Uebereinstimmung] must be all the more pleasing to me as in my philosophizing I have certainly not been under its influence. Until 1818, when my work appeared, only very few, highly imperfect and poor reports about Buddhism were to be found in Europe; they were almost entirely limited to a few papers in the earlier volumes of the *Asiatick Researches* and dealt mainly with the Buddhism of the Burmese. Since then, more knowledge about this religion has gradually reached us, mainly in form of the well-founded and instructive treatises of the meritorious academician of St. Petersburg, J. J. Schmidt, in the *Denkschriften* of his academy. May this great specialist of Central Asian languages soon communicate from the treasure trove of the complete Buddhist libraries that are available to him, and whose content is open to his understanding, some chosen translations from the original texts themselves. (Schopenhauer 1844:2.168–69; trans. Urs App)

By this time, Schopenhauer's focus had already moved from China to Tibet. Especially the publications of Schmidt and of Csoma de Körös had drawn his attention to the philosophy of Tibetan Mahayana whose teachings resembled what he knew from Deshauterayes's translations. Because Csoma had died, Schopenhauer hoped to get translations of original texts from Schmidt in St. Petersburg whose essays about the fundamental teachings of Buddhism had impressed him. When he published the second edition of *About the Will in Nature* a decade later in 1854, the

Sinology essay featured a newly minted oldest religion of China. Schopenhauer's description of Daoism did not change all too much even though a reference to Stanislas Julien's translation of the *Daodejing* 道德經 was now included. According to Schopenhauer, this translation shows "that the meaning and spirit of the doctrine of Dao is identical with that of Buddhism" (Schopenhauer 1854:1.118). He still claims that this sect "seems now to have very much receded to the background," and he has nothing new to say about Confucianism (p. 118). The situation is different with Buddhism which, as we have seen, was the true focus of Schopenhauer's Sinology essay. In the second edition this section is proportionally even larger, and the list of recommended literature exploded from three references in 1836 to twenty-three in 1854. Ten of twenty-three sources are related to South and Southeast Asian Buddhism (Burmese Buddhism, Ceylonese Buddhism, etc.); two to Chinese Buddhism (Dehauterayes and Abel-Rémusat 1836); one to Indian Buddhism and Buddhist history in general (Burnouf 1844); and the entire rest of eleven publications plus several additional papers to Tibet. I have described the development of Schopenhauer's interest in Tibet elsewhere (App 2008a), and the synoptic layout of the Sinology essay in Appendix 8 makes it easy to see what Schopenhauer added to the Buddhism section. In this second edition, his ideal type of Buddhist teaching gained even more participants and a substantially broader textual basis, and the essay's title "Sinology" would seem increasingly out of place if we did not know about the *Dazang yilan* love affair that shaped Schopenhauer's platonic idea of a near-perfect religion, that is, a religion that—though with some mythical elements and a certain lack of clarity—in essence offers exactly what Schopenhauer was looking for in his Sinology essay as well as the entire book: a striking confirmation of his philosophy. It was a new kind of *consensus gentium*: the consensus of the majority of the world's population about Schopenhauer's ideal type of religion.

The second section of the Sinology essay was a bit harder to revise because the subject matter had in the meantime become less rather than more clear. Schopenhauer had read an article by the sinologist Carl Friedrich NEUMANN (1793–1870), a German Jew who had converted to the Protestant faith. In 1830 Neumann spent a few months in Macao where he studied a little Cantonese and bought, in part with funds from the Royal Prussian library in Berlin, a huge collection of six thousand Chinese books. In exchange for the donation of part of this collection

to the Bavarian royal library he later became professor at the University of Munich where he taught until 1852. Neumann is the author of various books about Chinese history, religion, and philosophy, and Schopenhauer had in a theological journal (Neumann 1837) read the sinologist's article "Die Natur-und Religionsphilosophie der Chinesen. Nach dem Werke des Chinesischen Weltweisen Tschuhi, Fürst der Wissenschaft genannt" (The philosophy of nature and religion of the Chinese. Based on the work of Zhu Xi, called the lord of science).



Fig. 7: The philosopher Zhu Xi (Neumann 1837:1)

In Neumann's long article about the philosophy of ZHU XI 朱熹 (1130–1200), Schopenhauer first learned of this twelfth-century Chinese philosopher—the "Choo-foo-tse" of the 1826 Chinese cosmology article whom he had in the first edition of his Sinology essay mistaken for Confucius. When he revised the essay for the second edition he corrected this mistake and added some information about this "most famous of all Chinese scholars" who

"collected and systematized the totality of wisdom of the elders," whose work "is the basis of present-day Chinese instruction," and whose authority "is of the greatest importance" (Schopenhauer 1854:125). After quoting, as in the first edition, the excerpts from the Chinese cosmology article including the phrase "that the mind of Heaven is deducible from what is the Will of mankind" in both German and English, Schopenhauer addresses the plagiarism charge once again. Though he had already in 1828 written in his notebook that the author of the cosmology article "cites several times Morrison's Chinese Dictionary, *in voce T'hëen*" (Schopenhauer 1985:3.389), he now asserted that "further research" since 1836 brought him to the realisation "that the quoted phrase very probably and almost certainly is taken from Morrison's Chinese Dictionary where it will be found under the character *Tien*" and laments that he "lacks the opportunity to verify this" (Schopenhauer 1854:126–7).

In his new conclusion to the Sinology essay, Schopenhauer refers to Neumann's article about Zhu Xi. He points out that pages 60–63 of that article contain passages that "apparently have an identical source with those I quoted from the *Asiatic Journal*" (Schopenhauer 1854:127) and adds:

> However, they [these passages] are translated with a haziness of expression that is so common in Germany and prevents a precise understanding. Furthermore, one notices that this translator of Zhu Xi does not wholly understand his text — but he is not to be reproached for this in view of the very great difficulty of the language for Europeans and the inadequacy of available aids. (p. 127; trans. Urs App)

What gave Schopenhauer the right to judge a translation from Chinese, a language that he did not understand and could not read? The answer is: the utter confusion of Neumann's translations from the *Topically Arranged Conversations of Master Zhu* (*Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類). This is a collection of conversations with Zhu Xi, recorded between 1170 and 1200 and arranged by topics in 1219–20 (Gardner 1990:85). From age seventeen, Zhu Xi had for a decade been very interested in Buddhism, but later in life he criticized the popular Zen practices particularly harshly:

> In their method, before anything else, they place a large ban on reading books and probing principle. They forever want their students to fix their minds on some unclear, unknown place and one day, by chance, suddenly to become enlightened. (p. 21)

The influence of Zen can also be felt in the format of the *Topically Arranged Conversations* which, exactly like the Zen records (*yulu* 語録) of the tenth and eleventh centuries, were written in a concise question-and-answer style in a characteristic mixture of literary Chinese and colloquialisms. Zhu Xi held that the world has a single principle that manifests itself in manifold ways. This principle (*li* 理) "should be understood as something like a blueprint or pattern for the cosmos, a blueprint or pattern that underlies everything and every affair in that cosmos" (p. 49). But it also has other aspects, as Song Yong-bae pointed out:

> The concept of *li* posited by Zhu Xi contains three different aspects: 1) the ontological basis of things (pattern by which something is so), 2) their appropriate laws of being (pattern by which something should be so), and 3) their innate necessity, excluding each thing's arbitrary nature. Zhu Xi distinguishes in the abstract between empirical objects in the actual world, and their ontological basis and appropriate laws—the laws of being for all living creatures, including man. He then defines this ontological basic principle, i.e. *li*, as the raison d'être of all things, and gives it primary philosophical significance. As a result, the *li* of Zhu Xi's system may be understood as the philosophical category of ideal reality, *ideelle Realität*, similar to the Platonic concept of "idea." (Song 1999:229)

In man, this principle of course is also present; it is identical with man's nature (*xing* 性) and housed in man's mind (*xin* 心). Though Neumann was proud of being the proprietor of a complete set of Zhu Xi's collected works, of which at the time only two copies existed in Europe, his translations show that he was utterly unable to understand these texts. These translations, which—as Schopenhauer noted—are characterized by a "haziness of expression," confused the readers in part because Neumann kept using different words for the same Chinese term. For

example, on two pages where Schopenhauer detected some similarity with passages of the Chinese cosmology article and with Morrison, Neumann translates the single term *xin* (mind) in seven different ways: "wirkende Kraft" (active force), "wirkende Ursache" (efficient cause), "Geist" (spirit), "Herz" (heart), "Herz, angeborener Trieb" (heart, inborn drive), "Herz, angeborenes Gesetz" (heart, inborn law), and "Herz, Norm" (heart, norm) (Neumann 1837:60–61). Other frequently occurring terms such as *li* (principle) are treated in like manner, and the result is an impenetrable jungle of words that even a sharp mind such as Schopenhauer's could not penetrate. I will give just one example:

Zhuzi yulei 1.1	Neumann's translation (1837:60) as read by Schopenhauer	English translation of Neumann's German (Urs App)	English translation of Chinese text (Wing-tsit Chan 1989:188)
問：「天地之心、天地之理。理是道理、心是主宰底意否？」	*Frage*. Das *Herz* des Himmels und der Erde ist wohl die Urkraft des Himmels und der Erde, die Urkraft ist wohl die Normalurkraft und das Herz der herrschende, gebietende Fundamentalwille, oder nicht?	*Question*: Is the *heart* of heaven and earth indeed the ur-force of heaven and earth, and is the ur-force indeed the normal ur-force, and [is] the heart the reigning, commanding fundamental will or not?	A pupil asked, "With reference to the mind of Heaven and Earth and the principle of Heaven and Earth, principle is moral principle. Is the mind the will of the master?"
曰：「心固是主宰底意、然所謂主宰者，即是理也，	*Antwort*. Das Herz ist sicherlich der herrschende, gebietende Fundamentalwille, und das, welches man das Herrschende und Gebietende nennt, stammt aus der Urkraft.	*Answer*. The heart certainly is the reigning, commanding fundamental will; and what is called the reigning and commanding [power] originates from the ur-force.	Answer: "The mind is the will of a master, it is true, but what is called master is precisely principle itself.
不是心外別有箇理、理外別有箇心。」	Die Urkraft ist aber; ehe noch das Herz heraustretend sich zertheilt, zertheilt sich die Urkraft heraustretend, dann entsteht das Herz.	But the ur-force is; even before the emerging heart separates, the emerging ur-force separates, and then the heart arises.	It is not true that outside the mind there is principle, or that outside principle there is a mind."

Schopenhauer correctly guessed, on the basis of some similarities, that Neumann had used the same source as the author of the Chinese cosmology article and as Morrison; and this source was thanks to Neumann's description and translation now identifed as Zhu Xi. But the more Schopenhauer found out about this, the less this kind of "sinology" seemed useful for confirming his philosophy. So the essay that began with a resounding bang ends in a resigned whisper:

> In the meantime, we cannot cull from [Neumann's translation] the explanations we would like to have. We thus have to console ourselves with the hope that, given the increased freedom of contact with China, some Englishman shall one day give us more pertinent and thorough explanations about the above-mentioned dogma that has been communicated in such deplorable brevity. (Schopenhauer 1854:127; trans. Urs App)

After the publication of the second edition of the Sinology essay, a devoted young friend of Schopenhauer, Adam von Doß, in 1857 questioned Professor Neumann in Munich and also looked up the Morrison entry on heaven ("*t'hëen*" or *tian* 天). The posthumous third edition of the book and essay contained some footnotes by editor Julius Frauenstädt that are based on Schopenhauer's late notes. The one that interests us here reads:

> *Note by the editor* [Frauenstädt]: A note by Schopenhauer related to this issue says: "According to letters by v. Doß" (a friend of Schopenhauer) "of February 26 and June 8, 1857, Morrison's *Chinese Dictionary*, Macao 1815, Vol. 1, pag. 576, features under 天 *T'hëen* the passages cited here, in a somewhat different sequence but with approximately the same wording. Only the important passage at the end diverges and reads: *Heaven makes the mind of mankind its mind: in most ancient discussions repecting heaven, its mind, or will, was* <u>*divined*</u> (that's what it says, not <u>derived</u>) *from what was the will of mankind*. — Neumann has translated the passage for Doß anew, independently of Morrison; and the end reads "Through the heart of the people, heaven is usually revealed." (Schopenhauer 1867:139; trans. Urs App)

In Morrison, the last phrase featured the “mind or will” of heaven and “the will of mankind” (Morrison 1815:567), but in Neumann’s version this intriguing “will” seemed to have vanished. This was not exactly an annihilation of will in Schopenhauer’s sense; but with Neumann’s translation, Schopenhauer’s purported *raison d’être* of the sinology essay took another hit. On one hand, some deluded soul might actually think of raising the plagiarism accusation because the putative source would now be Morrison and not the Chinese cosmology article, and the secure 1826 date (eight years *after* the publication of Schopenhauer’s main work) would now be moved back to 1815, that is, three years *before* the publication. On the other hand the “mind of heaven” was now no more “deducible from what is the will of mankind,” as in the 1826 Chinese cosmology essay, but could—according to Morrison—only be “divined.” Furthermore, Morrison clearly used these passages as support for a “supreme Ruler” argument and reduced the *mind-of-Heaven = will-of-mankind* “dogma” to the rather trite meaning of *vox populi, vox Dei* (p. 576): the voice of the people is the voice of God. That was something both Schopenhauer and the editor of the posthumous third edition of the Sinology essay (1867), Frauenstädt, preferred to leave unmentioned.

10. Heaven's Mind and Man's Will

Schopenhauer's hope that "a stroke of luck" (first edition 1836:135) or "some Englishman" (second edition 1854:135; see the end of Appendix 8) would enlighten him about the "dogma" linking heaven's mind to man's will is unfulfilled to this day. To commemorate the 150th anniversary of the philosopher's death, I will here supply what neither luck nor Englishmen have so far produced. It may help to first review the history of Schopenhauer's Sinology essay in form of a chart in order to understand the somewhat complex flow of information.

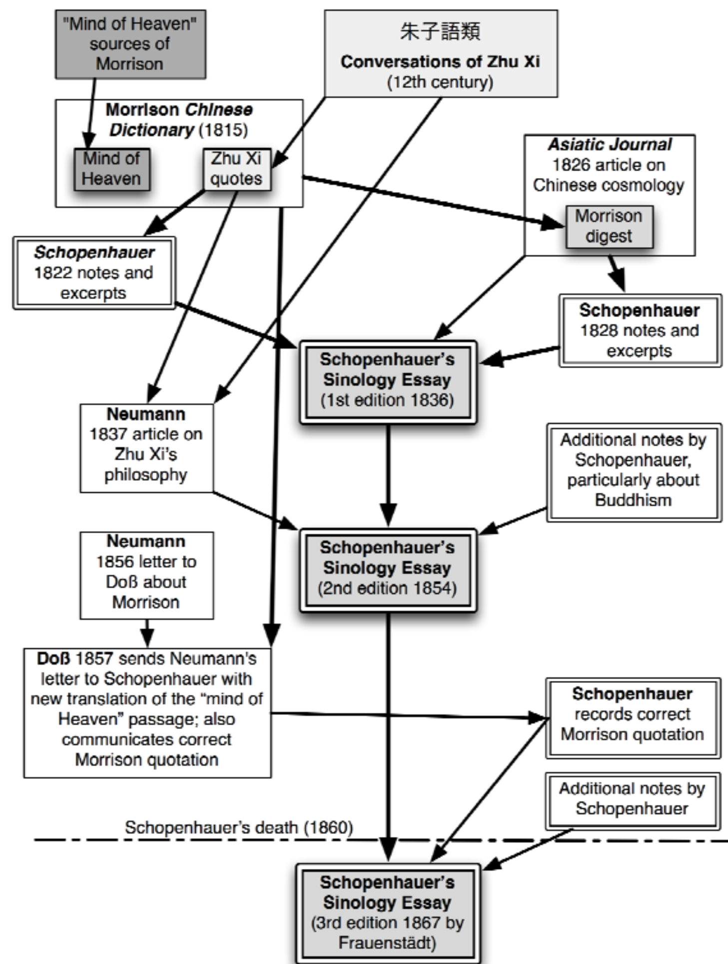


Fig. 8: Genealogy of Schopenhauer's Sinology essay (Urs App)

It must be kept in mind that when Schopenhauer ostensibly began to worry about a possible plagiarism charge in the early 1830s, all he had at his disposition was the *Asiatic Journal* version of the *mind-of-Heaven = will-of-mankind* "dogma":

> Thus, according to one of their authorities, "*Teen* is called ruler, or sovereign (*choo*), from the idea of supreme control," and another expresses himself thus: "Had heaven (*teen*) no designing mind, then it must happen that the cow might bring forth a horse, and on the peach-tree be produced the blossoms of the pear." On the other hand, it is said, that the mind of heaven is deducible from what is the will of mankind. (Chinese cosmology article in *Asiatic Journal*; see Appendix 5)

Schopenhauer guessed on the basis of several references in this article that the three statements (1. Heaven as ruler; 2. ox and horse; 3. mind of heaven and will of mankind) stem from Morrison's dictionary, but he never verified this with his own eyes. Schopenhauer's only source for these three statements during the redaction of the first edition of his Sinology essay was thus the Chinese cosmology article of 1826 that he had read and excerpted in 1828.

Between 1837 and the publication of the second edition of the Sinology essay in 1854 Schopenhauer read Neumann's 1837 article and correctly guessed that Zhu Xi must be the source of the "ox and horse" statement because it resembled the following passage in Neumann's Zhu Xi translation:

Zhuzi yulei 1.18	Neumann's translation (1837:61) as read by Schopenhauer	English translation of Neumann's German (Urs App)	English translation of Chinese text (Urs App)
若果無心、則須牛生出馬、桃樹上發李花。	Wenn z.B. das Thier oder die Frucht kein Herz (kein angeborenes Gesetz) hätten, so müsste der Ochs ein Pferd hervorbringen können und der Apfelbaum Pflaumenblüthe tragen.	If, for example, the animal or the fruit were to have no heart (no inborn law), then the ox would have to give birth to a horse, and the apple tree to bear plum blossoms.	If [heaven and earth] had indeed no mind, then a cow would have to give birth to a foal, and plum blossoms would sprout from a peach tree.

Only in 1857, three years before his death, did Schopenhauer learn from Doß's letters Morrison's precise wording of the "Heaven as ruler" and "ox and horse" passages. In his explanations about Heaven (*tian* 天), Morrison interprets them in a manner that is diametrically opposed to Schopenhauer's reading. The first part of Morrison's explanation is the source of the *Asiatic Journal* article's "*Teen* is called ruler, or sovereign (*choo*), from the idea of supreme control," and the second part is the source of its "ox and horse" statement:

> E-chuen shwo, tëen e choo tsae wei che te 義川説天以主宰謂之帝 *E-chuen* said, heaven is styled *Ruler* or *sovereign* from the idea of supreme controul. A Chinese writer thus argues against chance, and in favor of an intelligent and designing First Cause. 天無心則須牛生出馬桃樹上發李花 had Heaven no designing mind, then it must happen that the cow might bring forth a horse, and on the peach tree be produced the blossoms of a pear. (Morrison 1815:1.577; see Appendix 6)

The Chinese cosmology article in the *Asiatic Journal* attributes these two statements to no particular author ("according to one of their authorities …", "and another"). Schopenhauer correctly guessed on the basis of Neumann's article that Zhu Xi is the author of the second, and now we can also identify the author of the first. The man Morrison calls *E-chuen* is the younger of the famous Cheng brothers who are among the founders of Neo-Confucianism: Cheng Yi 程頤 (1033–1107) who often is called Yichuan 伊川 which, at least in pronunciation, corresponds to Morrison's *E-chuen*. The "heaven as ruler" statement stems from Cheng Yi's most famous book: his commentary on the *Classic of Change* or *Yijing* titled *Zhouyi Chengshi chuan* 周易程氏傳. In Cheng Yi's commentary to the first hexagram of the *Yijing*, "heaven" (*qian* 乾), we find the following explanation:

Zhouyi Chengshi chuan ch. 1	English translation (Urs App)
夫天、專言之則道也。...	Spoken of singly, Heaven (*tian*) is called the Way (*dao* 道). …
分而言之、以形体言之謂之天、	Spoken of separately, with respect to its physical embodiment it is called "Heaven" (*tian* 天);

以主宰言之謂之帝、	**with respect to its supremacy it is called “Lord”** (*di* 帝);
以功用言之謂之鬼神、	with respect to its effective function it is called “good and evil spirits” (*guishen* 鬼神);
以妙用言之謂之神、	with respect to its wondrous function it is called “the numinous” (*shen* 神);
以性情言之謂之乾 。	and with respect to its nature and feeling it is called [by the name of the first hexagram,] “heaven” (*qian* 乾).

The phrase set in bold is the one used by Morrison. As happened here, it sometimes is stripped of its context and given a monotheistic interpretation; but the entire passage ought to show that this is hardly adequate. Rather, it fits in with Cheng Yi’s overall doctrine that everything has the same *li* 理 or principle as the entire universe. It is misguided to call this reigning principle, in the manner of Neumann and some interpreters of Neo-Confucianism, “God.” Even the Jesuit missionaries, who since the days of Matteo Ricci consistently accused the Neo-Confucians of atheism and materialism, knew better. But it is equally problematic to speak of a fundamental similarity between Schopenhauer’s metaphysics of will and the Neo-Confucian metaphysics of *li*.

The best proof of this is the *pièce de résistance* of Schopenhauer’s reception of Chinese thought: the *mind-of-Heaven = will-of-mankind* “dogma.” Our analysis and the genealogy chart of the Sinology essay (Fig. 8) have shown that Schopenhauer’s so-called “study of Zhuxi” (Berger 2008:114) was limited to a few phrases cited out of context by the anonymous author of the Chinese cosmology article, a few (mostly unattributed) phrases in Morrison’s dictionary (read in 1822), and Neumann’s “translations” that are, as Schopenhauer noticed in dismay, a pile of nonsense. I traced the source of the “dogma” that so intrigued Schopenhauer to the collected works of another patriarch of Neo-Confucian philosophy: Zhang Zai 張載 (1020–1077).

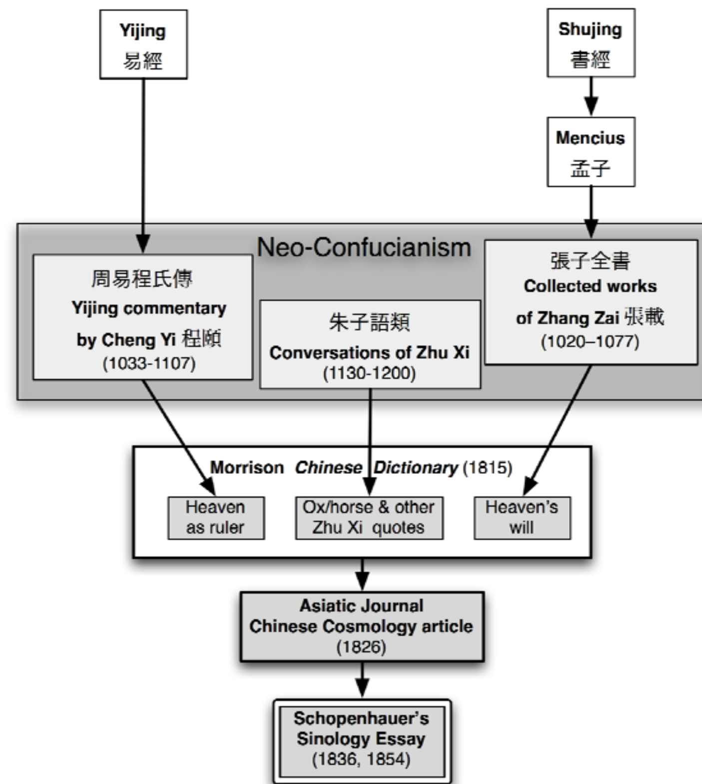


Fig. 9: Neo-Confucian sources in Schopenhauer’s Sinology essay (Urs App)

Recall that Schopenhauer first read about this “dogma” in the *Asiatic Journal* and focused on the phrase “On the other hand, it is said, that the mind of heaven is deducible from what is the will of mankind.” This was the only formulation of the “dogma” that he knew when redacting both editions of his Sinology essay. Only in 1857 Schopenhauer finally found out about Morrison’s different wording:

> 天以天下之心爲心。古之論天者多以民心卜天 Heaven makes the mind of mankind its mind; in most ancient discussions respecting heaven, its mind or will was divined from what was the will of mankind; vox populi; vox Dei.” (Morrison 1815:1.577)

Morrison gives no specific source for this saying, but it is clearly based on a passage from Zhang Zai’s collected works (*Zhangzi quanshu*) that in Wing-tsit Chan’s translation reads:

> Chang Tsai said, "Heaven has no mind. Its mind is in man's mind. One man's private opinion cannot represent fully the mind of Heaven, but when the minds of all people agree, that will be a moral principle, and that is Heaven. Therefore what we call Heaven or the Lord is completely the feeling of the people."[29] (Chan 1989:192)

This is exactly what Morrison's passage signifies: one cannot divine the mind or will of heaven based on one man, but one can find out about it from what everybody agrees on. This is analogous to the *consensus gentium* (consensus of all peoples) argument that was frequently used by Europeans to "prove" the existence of one God. The consensus here is based on the core Neo-Confucian idea of the fundamental goodness of the principle of Heaven or *li* 理. Though Schopenhauer might have agreed with some aspects of Neo-Confucianism (if he had known more about them), his fundamental outlook is diametrically opposed to Neo-Confucian philosophy. Akin to Leibniz whose optimism Schopenhauer disdained, Neo-Confucianism rests on a fundamentally optimistic basis. If for Schopenhauer human desire is a window to the understanding of the principle of everything, the Neo-Confucians regard human desire as opposed to the Principle of Heaven:

> Chu Hsi said, "There are only two paths for man, namely, the Principle of Heaven and human desires. If something is not the Principle of Heaven, it is a human desire. … The Principle of Heaven and human desires are always opposed … As the Principle of Heaven prevails, human desires will disappear, and as human desires win out, the Principle of Heaven will be destroyed. There has never been a

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[29] In this passage from the *Zhangzi quanshu* 張子全書 (4:7b), Zhang Zai alludes to a passage of *Mencius* 孟子 (5:A5). There the problem of the will of Heaven is raised when Wan Zhang 萬章 asks Mencius how Heaven gave the empire to Shun. Did it issue a series of commands and instructions? No, but it revealed its will through acts and deeds. In this context Mencius quotes from a lost chapter of the *Book of History* (*Shujing* 書經 11.10a) the famous phrase 天視自我民視、天聽自我民聽: "Heaven sees with the eyes of its people; Heaven hears with the ears of its people" (Lau 2003:206–7).

> case where the Principle of Heaven and human desires have been mixed. (Chan 1989:202–3)

In case Schopenhauer indeed worried that the Chinese “dogma” was in any way similar to his philosophy and that one might accuse him of having stolen his philosophy from Neo-Confucians, he can now relax. Conversely, Zhu Xi would hardly have been inspired by Schopenhauer’s concept of will (Berger 2008:114) but would certainly have condemned him even more harshly than he criticized Master Hu:

> The defect of Master Hu lies in his theory that human nature is neither good nor evil. In substance there is only the Principle of Heaven, not [selfish] human desires. It is wrong to say that they are the same in substance. (p. 206)

For Zhu Xi and his fellow Neo-Confucians, selfishness is the very opposite of the Principle of Heaven, whereas for Schopenhauer the inverse is true: the universe’s basic principle is a blind, selfish drive that only wills and desires its perpetuation by all means, as is apparent from the phenomena adduced by Schopenhauer in *About the Will in Nature* as confirmations of his philosophy. The confirmation he sought from China was not the kind of fundamental optimism he found in Mencius, whose Latin translation by Stanislas Julien he owned and regarded as a monotonous stream of “pedantic and nauseous platitudes” (see Appendix 7, first photograph). Though even German researchers (May 2001, Meisig 2008) fail to take it into account, Schopenhauer’s markup in that book—which after all is the only extant book from Schopenhauer’s library that is related to Chinese thought—shows that his interest focused on Mencius’s view of compassion which presupposes the suffering of others, and that his interest in Confucianism was very limited. This is not only shown by the scarcity of references in Schopenhauer’s work but, once more, by his Sinology essay where his true interests are on display.

11. VIRTUAL BUDDHISM

From 1845 Schopenhauer occasionally called himself a Buddhist, and he may well be the first Westerner to have done so. But he did not light incense and sit cross-legged in his apartment in Frankfurt, as some modern Buddhist critics wish he had. Instead he continued collecting information and found his idea confirmed in the publications of Schmidt whose portrayal of Buddhist philosophy and translations from the Kanjur canon he now regarded as the best expression of genuine Buddhist teaching. In Schmidt he had found a specialist who, unlike Neumann, seemed to understand the philosophy of the texts he was translating. For example, Schmidt's preface to *The Wise and the Fool*—which Schopenhauer found "very apt as a first introduction" to Buddhism (1854:119)—describes the Mahayana conception of non-duality as follows:

> Since in this 'beyond' [Jenseits] all that has name is regarded as void and non-being [nichtig und nichtseyend], it follows that all concepts and relations bound to name are equally void, without meaning,[30] and empty [nichtig, bedeutungslos und leer]. This extends to all objects and concepts, be they high or low and noble or base, simply because they have a name. Thus, for example, because Buddha is named Buddha he is not Buddha; because virtue is called virtue it is not virtue, and vice for the same reason is not vice; yes even *Sansâra*—i.e., the entire world as it appears to our cognition and perception in its ceaseless change and infinite variety of physical, organic, physiological, and moral characteristics—and *Nirwâna*, i.e. the egress and complete release from this boundless and endless

[30] This is exactly the (positive) meaning of the same word "bedeutungsleer" in Schopenhauer's final passage of *The World as Will and Representation* that some researchers like Nicholls (1999) misunderstood as a critique of nirvana and Buddhism: "[…] like the Indians through myths and words that are void of meaning [bedeutungsleere Worte] such as absorption into *Brahm* or the *Nirwana* of the Buddhists" (Schopenhauer 1977:1.508)

> change and from these ceaseless transfigurations, are not-two [unverschieden] since they have names and therewith relationships. (Schmidt 1843:XXXIV; trans. Urs App)

Toward the end of his life Schopenhauer's admiration for Buddhism found expression not only in a steadily increasing stream of notes and remarks. Three decades had passed since he first noted the "marvelous agreement" (wundervolle Übereinstimmung) of the Buddha's "inner" teaching in the *Dazang yilan* with his own philosophy, and now his platonic idea became embodied. In 1856 he asked the Prussian diplomat Eduard Crüger to purchase a genuine Buddha statue for him in Paris and gave him a precise description of what he wanted (Hübscher 1971:196). Afraid of getting a fat Chinese Buddha of the kind he had searched for in Amsterdam as a boy, the philosopher was elated to find a slim bronze figure in Crüger's parcel. He quickly had the black coating of the statue removed and was so pleased with what he saw that he forgot his famous parsimony and had it gilded (Hübscher 1987:197). At the time little was known about Buddhist art, but Schopenhauer's idea of Tibetan orthodoxy made him conclude:

> It is totally genuine and presented entirely in the orthodox manner: I guess that it comes from the great foundry in Tibet; but it is already old. It will grace a console in the corner of my living room, and visitors—who at any rate enter the room with holy shivers and considerably dressed up—will immediately know where they are, in these hallowed halls. If only Reverend Kalb from Sachsenhausen showed up, he who panted from the pulpit 'that even Buddhism gets introduced in Christian lands'! (Hübscher 1987:391; trans. Urs App)

Some weeks later it was already "probable" that the statue "stems from the great foundry in Tibet" and Schopenhauer remarked with satisfaction that it "fulfilled a long-held desire": "it has all the canonical characteristics, and there it sits: ready for private worship" (p. 391). It only took one more month for Schopenhauer to reach certainty about the statue's origin:

> My Buddha is now galvanically gilded and will gleam splendidly on his console in the corner. The Burmese, according to the *Times*, have recently gold-plated an

> entire pagoda: there I must not be trumped. Another Buddha is here [in Frankfurt], the property of a rich Englishman. I have made a pilgrimage there in order to offer my Satu. Though of life-size, it is not made of bronze like mine but of *papier maché*, a cast probably from China, entirely gilded and similar to mine to a T. I prefer mine: it is genuine, Tibetan! The other statue only differs by its flat nose and shorter, fatter limbs—Chinese! Mine is skinny and long-armed, but otherwise identical. Both have exactly the same orthodox, famous, gentle smile. The position, habit, hairdo, lotus: all are exactly the same! Reverend Kalb! Look over here! *Hum, Mani, Padma, Oum!* (Stollberg 2006:167–8; trans. Urs App)

No doubt: Schopenhauer's ideal type of religion had now moved to Tibet. Though Schopenhauer's statue is lost, a single photograph that might represent it is stored at the Schopenhauer Archive in Frankfurt (Stollberg 2008:163–72).



Fig. 10: Schopenhauer's Buddha? (Photo in Schopenhauer-Archiv, Frankfurt)

Hugo Busch pointed out that this photograph shows a statue of Thai origin (p. 172), which is probably correct but is no argument against it being a depiction of Schopenhauer's statue. The statue embodied Schopenhauer's idea of Buddhism, and had he received it in the 1820s or 1830s, he would without doubt have traced it to a "famous Chinese foundry." But this statue was not the only participant in Schopenhauer's platonic idea. In 1857, three years after the publication of the second edition of the Sinology essay and one year after Schopenhauer's purchase of his Buddha statue, the first comprehensive book about Buddhism and its history appeared in Europe. It was by Carl Friedrich KOEPPEN (1818–1863), a close friend of Karl Marx. Schopenhauer's note about this book was posthumously added to the list of recommendations in the third edition of the Sinology essay:

> C. F. Köppen, the religion of Buddha, 1857, a complete compendium of Buddhaismus that contains everything essential about it. Its data is drawn with great erudition and earnest diligence, but also with intelligence and insight, from all the publications listed above and also numerous others. (Schopenhauer 1867:131; trans. Urs App)

Schopenhauer's extant copy of this book shows that in private he also found much to criticize in this book. Its margins are peppered with remarks like "Esel!" (dumb ass!), "Hegel" (which for Schopenhauer meant the same thing), and exclamation marks that express Schopenhauer's disapproval. But there are also pages that Schopenhauer considered important and that he emphasized with thick pencil lines. They were apparently responsible for the attribution of intelligence and insight to "Esel" Koeppen. One of Koeppen's explanations shows particularly well to what extent this pioneering work about Buddhism embodied Schopenhauer's platonic idea of Buddhism (words underlined by Schopenhauer in his copy of Koeppen are also underlined in my English translation):

> The objective is to avoid rebirth in order to destroy the cycle of metempsychosis. This is achieved through the purification of the soul of all desire and passion, of all attachment to the world, that is to say: of all stirring of one's own will and of

> any feeling of selfhood and personality. Thereby exactly that principle of egoity [Ichheit] and the illusion of particularity and individuality are eliminated [aufgehoben]. Once the thirst for existence is completely extinguished, the "total negation of the will to life is achieved" and simultaneously the "illusion of the principle of individuation" is exterminated; thus the links of existence are severed, the source of transmigration is at an end, and the liberation from the cycle of birth and death is achieved. The I [das Ich] vanishes, like a plant that is no more watered or whose roots are exposed; it is extinguished like a lamp whose supply of oil has finished. The law of Buddha shows the path to this goal and teaches the means by which you can achieve it. (Koeppen 1857:220)

Though Koeppen does not mention Schopenhauer's name, the quotation marks around the words underlined by Schopenhauer show that he did not want to disguise his indebtedness to the man who built his philosophy around them. Koeppen and Richard Wagner (App 1997) were among the first influential Westerners to see Buddhism through Schopenhauer's lens, but many more were to follow. Indeed, almost all early European Buddhists and even some of the pioneer Japanese researchers of Buddhism (Shioya 1972) were avid readers of Schopenhauer: children of the love affair whose beginnings were so exquisitely sino-platonic.

MATERIALS

The eight appendixes of this book have the aim of presenting chronologically arranged source material that is helpful for the study of Schopenhauer’s relationship with China.

APPENDIX 1: SCHOPENHAUER’S LECTURE NOTES ON CHINA AND ADJACENT REGIONS (1811). This is the first bilingual edition of Schopenhauer’s China-related notes from Prof. Heeren’s ethnography lectures, summer semester 1811, Göttingen University. For my transcription of almost all Asia-related notes from 1811 (German only) see App 2003 and 2006a. Literature references at the bottom of pages were added for the convenience of the reader.

APPENDIX 2: SCHOPENHAUER’S NOTES AND EXCERPTS FROM *ASIATICK RESEARCHES* VOLS 1–9 (1815-16). This is a reproduction / translation of Schopenhauer’s Buddhism-related notes and excerpts from *Asiatick Researches* vols. 1–9 from his notebooks of 1815 and 1816. Information about the source and characteristics of this edition that seeks to replicate Schopenhauer’s manuscript but adds English translations for all German text is found in the introduction to this appendix.

APPENDIX 3: MORRISON’S DICTIONARY PASSAGES IN SCHOPENHAUER’S 1822 EXCERPTS (1822). This is a reproduction of the pages from Morrison’s Chinese Dictionary on which Schopenhauer’s excerpts and notes from the year 1822 are based. Relevant dictionary paragraphs are highlighted. The corresponding notes and excerpts by Schopenhauer are found in *Der handschriftliche Nachlaß* vol. 3, pp. 55–56 and *Manuscript Remains* vol. 3, pp. 60–62 (*Reisebuch* no. 132). These two works are listed in the bibliography under Schopenhauer 1985 and 1989.

APPENDIX 4: SCHOPENHAUER’S NOTES AND EXCERPTS FROM DESHAUTERAYES (1826). These are the notes and excerpts Schopenhauer took in 1826 from the articles by Deshauterayes in no. 7 of the *Journal Asiatique* (Deshauterayes 1825). This bilingual edition features Schopenhauer’s notes in the original German or French along with my English translation. For the original

text see *Der handschriftliche Nachlaß* vol. 3, pp. 305–6 and *Manuscript Remains* vol. 3, pp. 336–7 (*Foliant II* no. 161). In the *Manuscript Remains* the French text is not translated.

APPENDIX 5: THE CHINESE COSMOLOGY ARTICLE (ASIATIC JOURNAL NO. 22, 1826)**.** This is a reproduction of the article on Chinese cosmology by an unknown author in the *Asiatic Journal* No. 22, 1826, pp. 41–44. Schopenhauer based a core argument of his Sinology essay on this article. Passages used by Schopenhauer in his 1828 notes / excerpts and later in his essay on Sinology (1836 and 1854 editions) are highlighted.

APPENDIX 6: MORRISON PASSAGES IN THE CHINESE COSMOLOGY ARTICLE (1826). This is a reproduction of those pages in Morrison's *Chinese Dictionary* that were used by the anonymous author of the article on Chinese cosmology (see Appendix 5). Relevant passages are highlighted.

APPENDIX 7: SCHOPENHAUER'S MARKS IN HIS COPY OF THE LATIN MENCIUS TRANSLATION (date unclear). Photographs of all marked-up pages in the only extant Chinese philosophy-related book from Schopenhauer's library: vol. 1 of Stanislas Julien's Mencius translation titled *Meng Tseu vel Mencium inter sinenses philosophos, ingenio, doctrina, nominisque claritate Confucio proximum* (Paris: Dondey-Dupré: 1824). Like many other precious books that are now stored in the Schopenhauer Archiv in Frankfurt's university library, this work shows numerous traces of Schopenhauer's interest that are habitually ignored even by German researchers. Hübscher (1985:5.337) only mentioned the Latin phrase on the cover page of the book and the presence of "Striche (Bl.)": "lines (pencil)." All pages with pencil marks by Schopenhauer are reproduced here in a size that is sufficient to identify Schopenhauer's traces of usage, and Schopenhauer's written remarks are transcribed. Julien's *Meng Tseu* itself is available for free download at books.google.com and archive.org. All photos were taken by Urs App in the fall of 2009 at the Schopenhauer Archive in Frankfurt am Main.

APPENDIX 8: SYNOPTIC EDITION OF SCHOPENHAUER'S SINOLOGY ESSAY (1836 & 1854): This appendix contains my English translations of the first and second editions of Schopenhauer's Sinology essay. The synoptic arrangement aims at facilitating the identification of additions, omissions, and changes. Original pagination is shown in angular brackets; changes of content

by a different typeface. This is the first synoptic edition of the Sinology essay and the first English translation of the original texts before interference by Schopenhauer's editors.

APPENDIX 1: SCHOPENHAUER'S LECTURE NOTES ON CHINA (1811)

Notizen Schopenhauers zu China

(Universität Göttingen, Ethnographievorlesung von Prof. A.H.L. Heeren, Sommersemester 1811 Schopenhauer-Archiv HN III, S. 93-111)

Transkription und Herausgabe von Urs App

Notes by Schopenhauer about China

(Göttingen University, Ethnography lectures by Prof. A.H.L. Heeren, summer semester 1811 Schopenhauer Archive HN III, pp. 93-111)

Transcription, edition, and translation by Urs App

China.

Das chinesische Reich wird im Norden durch das Rußische Asien im Süden durch Indien im Osten durch den Ocean im Westen v. der gr. Bucharey begränzt. Außer China gehört dazu Tibet, die kl. Bucharey, die große Mongoley, das Tungusen od: Amurland u. Korea.

China.

The Chinese empire is bordered toward the north by Russian Asia, toward the south by India, toward the East by the ocean, and toward the west by the greater Buchary. Apart from China it comprises Tibet, the smaller Buchary, greater Mongolia, Tunguska or the land of the Amur, and Korea.

China im engern Sinn.

Der östl. Theil ist am besten bekannt.

Seit 1550 haben die Jesuiten Missionäre hingeschickt die sich bis jezt in dauerndem Ansehen erhalten haben, da sie mancherley mechanisch astronomisch u. a. Kenntniße hatten: sie kamen derwegen in Gunst des Kaiser's, sahen die Hauptstadt u. manche Provinzen.

Hauptquelle über China ist des Jesuiten Duhalde Description de la Chine: 1734, 4 Bde in 4°.[1] Hiedurch wurde China zuerst eigentlich bekannt.

China in the stricter sense.

The eastern part is best known.

Since 1550 the Jesuits sent missionaries there. Up to the present they have enjoyed permanent respect because they had various mechanical, astronomical, and other knowledge, which is why they were in the favor of the emperor and saw both the capital and various provinces.

The main source about China is Duhalde's Description de la Chine: 1734, 4 vols. in quarto.[1] Through this work China really became known.

1 Jean-Baptiste du Halde SJ, *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise*, La Haye: Henri Scheurleer, 1736.

DeGigne wollte entdeckt haben daß die chinesische Schrift aus den Hieroglyphen der Aegypter hervorgegangen sey u. China Aegyptische Kolonie.[2] Dies beförderte die Untersuchung Chinas. Es entstand das 2te Hauptwerk:

Mémoires concernant la Chine 14 Bde in 4°.[3]

Der Pater Maillat studierte die chinesischen Annalen, von ihm ist die Histoire de la Chine 12 Bde in 4°[4] u. vom père Le Compte Mémoires sur la Chine[5], alles aus dem 18ten Jhrhdt. Eine Gegenpartey beschuldigte diese Verfasser <S. 98> der Übertreib[un]g; ihr Haupt ist DeBaub, schrieb recherches sur les Chinois & les Egyptiens.[6]

Neuerlich sind 2 Gesandschaften hingeschickt. 1791 schickten die Engländer Lord Macartney hin. Account of an Ambassy to

De Guignes claimed to have discovered that the Chinese writing system originated from the Egyptian hieroglyphs and that China is an Egyptian colony.[2] This stimulated research on China. The second major work became:

Mémoires concernant la Chine 14 vols in quarto.[3]

Father Mailla studied the Chinese annals; by him is the Histoire de la Chine in 12 vols in quarto[4] and by Father Lecomte the Mémoires sur la Chine,[5] all of them from the 18th century. A counter-party accused these authors <p. 98> of exaggeration; their head is de Pauw who wrote recherches sur les Chinois & les Egyptiens.[6]

Recently, two embassies were sent there. In 1791 the English sent Lord Macartney. Account of an Ambassy to the emperor of

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2 Joseph de Guignes, *Mémoire dans lequel on prouve, que les Chinois sont une colonie égyptienne*, Paris: Desaint & Saillant, 1760.

3 C. Batteu (ed.), *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les moeurs, les usages etc. des Chinois: par les missionaires de Pékin* (16 vols). Paris / Nyon: 1776–1814.

4 Joseph Anne Marie de Moyria de Mailla, *Histoire générale de la Chine ou Annales de cet empire; Traduites du Tong-Kien-Kang-Mou* (12 vols), Paris: Pierres / Clousier, 1777 – 1783.

5 Louis Daniel Lecomte, *Nouveaux Mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine*, Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1696.

6 Cornelius de Pauw, *Recherches sur les Égyptiens et les Chinois*, Berlin: G. J. Decker, 1773.

the emperor of China by Stownton.[7]	China by Staunton.[7]
Hüttner d. Nachrichten von der Britischen Gesandschaft nach China.[8]	Hüttner, news of the British embassy to China.[8]
Barrow travels in China 1804. 1 Bd. in 4°.[9]	Barrow travels in China 1804. 1 vol. in quarto.[9]
Alle 3 Verfaßer waren in Macartney's Gefolge.	All three authors were escorts of Macartney's embassy.
Die Holländer schickten eine Gesandschaft unter van Braam um dem Kaiser zu seinem 60 Regierungsjahr zu gratuliren. De Gigne <u>Sohn</u> jenes obenerwähnten Schriftstellers, war Dollmetscher, schrieb: DeGigne, voyage en Chine.[10]	The Dutch sent an embassy under the leadership of van Braam in order to congratulate the emperor on his sixtieth year of reign. De Guignes, <u>son</u> of the above-mentioned writer, was interpreter and wrote: De Guignes, voyage en Chine.[10]
Diese Reisen haben die Jesuiten von dem Verdacht absichtlicher Unwahrheit befreyt, obwohl sie oft irrten.	These embassies have freed the Jesuits from the suspicion of intentional untruth, though they often erred.
Von der grossen Mongoley wird China durch <u>die große Mauer</u> getrennt, sie ist fast 300 Teutsch Meilen lang, geht über	China is separated from Greater Mongolia by <u>the great Wall</u>. It is almost 300 German miles long, traverses mountains

7 George Staunton, *An authentic account of an embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China: including cursory observations made, and information obtained, in travelling through that ancient Empire, and a small part of Chinese Tartary: together with a relation of the voyage undertaken on the occasion by His Majesty's Ship The Lion, and the Ship Hindostan, in the East India Company's service, to the Yellow Sea, and Gulf of Pekin: as well as of their return to Europe [...] taken chiefly from the papers of His Excellency the Earl of Macartney*, London: W. Bulmer, 1797.

8 Johann Christian Huettner, *Nachricht von der britischen Gesandtschaftsreise durch China und einen Theil der Tartarei*, Berlin: Voss, 1797.

9 John Barrow, *Travels in China, Containing Descriptions, Observations, and Comparisons, Made and Collected in the Course of a Short Residence at the Imperial Palace of Yuen-Min*, London: T. Cadell & W. Davies, 1804.

10 Louis Joseph de Guignes, *Voyages à Peking, Manille et l'île de France*, Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1808 (3 vols).

Berge die 5000 f. hoch sind, hat alle 300 Schritt einen Thurm: sie soll die Gränze vor den Nomaden schüzzen, welche als bloße Reiter nicht belagern können. Sie ist im 3ten Jahrhundert vor Christus erbaut, u. eins der größten Werke menschl. Fleißes.

Hauptströhme sind der Hoancho u. der Hiangsekiak. Sie gehören zu den größten Ströhmen der Erde. Es giebt noch viele andre große u. unzählige kleine Flüße. Die Abdachung ist westlich, im Süden südlich. Die Flüße machen keine Delta's.

Im Norden ist es ziemlich kalt, u. manchen Monat liegt Schnee: Der Süden sehr warm. Doch ist das Klima im ganzen sehr glückl.

Ein so großes Land muß fast alle seine Bedürfniße selbst hervorbringen, daher ist der innere Handel sehr stark. Daher müßen auch die Europäer fast alles mit Gold bezahlen. Bengalen liefert indeßen Opium hin; auch sollen neuerl. die Engl. Waaren abgeben. <S. 99> Größtentheils wird indeßen alles mit Silber bezahlt. (Denn das Gold steht zu niedrig). Doch ist für die Chinesen der Europäische Handel unbedeutend, gegen den Inneren.

China ist in 15 Provinzen getheilt. 7 davon sind von Engländern u. Holländern bereist. Von den übrigen haben wir keine Beschreibung als die älteren der Jesuiten. Es soll 1500 Städte geben, die durch Rang sich unterscheiden, den ihre Endung bezeichnen: Die vom ersten enden auf fuh die v. 2ten auf tschu, die v. 3ten auf kion. Sie sind meist viereckig, ummauert, die

over 5000 feet in height, and has a tower every 300 steps. It must protect the frontier against nomads who, as pure cavalry, cannot put siege. It was built in the third century before Christ and is one of the greatest works of human industriousness.

Main rivers are the Huangcho and the Hiangsekiak. They are among the greatest rivers of the earth. There are also many other great rivers and countless small ones. The declivity is toward the west, in the south toward the south. The rivers do not form deltas.

In the north it is fairly cold, and during many months there is snow. The South is very warm. But on the whole the climate is very advantageous.

Such a great country must cover almost all of its own needs, which is why trade is very strong. This is also why the English must pay almost everything in gold. Bengal furnishes opium; and lately the English are said to furnish goods. <p. 99> For the most part, however, everything is paid in silver (because the gold is undervalued). But for the Chinese the European trade is trifling compared to domestic trade.

China is partitioned into 15 provinces. In seven of them the English and Dutch travel. Of the rest we have no other description than the old ones by the Jesuits. There are said to be 1,500 cities. They are distinguished by their suffix. The names of those of the first rank end with fu, those of the second with tschu, and of the third with kion. They are mostly square, walled,

Straßen grade meist ungepflastert, die Häuser haben alle nur ein Stockwerk; in den Städten sind noch hohe Thürme, mit Bolwerk; die Läden sind um die Straße.

Die Dörfer sind theils von Lehm, theils von Ziegeln erbaut, nach den verschiedenen Provinzen. Im Norden ist Weizen, im Süden Reis das Hauptprodukt.

Petscheli ist die erste Provinz weil seit dem 15ten Jhrhdt die Residz hier liegt. Sie ist ganz eben. Pekin heißt der Hof im Norden, wie Nankin der Hof im Süden. Pekin ist zertheilt in die alte u. die Tataren-Stadt. Erstere ist wüst u. wenig bewohnt. Leztere die eigentl. Residenz, von den erobernden Mongolen erbaut. Nach Macartney hat die Tartarische Stadt 14 Engl. □ Meilen groß angegeben, also 1/3 mehr als London, u. die alte Stadt 9 Engl. □ Meilen. Die geringste Angabe der Einwohner ist 2 Millionen, die höchste 6 Millionen. Die Häuser haben auch hier alle nur ein Stockwerk; das Gewühl soll noch größer als das in London seyn. In der Mitte der Tartaren Stadt ist der kaiserl. Pallast, nimmt 1 Engl. □ Meile ein, hat viele Thürme u.s.w. Peking ist weder Handel= noch Manufaktur-Stadt, sondern blos Residz, u. alles was da wohnt steht mit dem Hofe in Verbindung, u. lebt von den Großen. Nicht weit von der großen Mauer sind die kaiserl. Gärten Cehol, wo der Hof sich oft aufhält, auch <S. 100> hatte Macartney dort Audienz.

the streets are mostly unpaved, all houses have only one floor, and in cities one also finds tall towers with fortification. Shops line the street.

Villages are partly built with loam and partly with bricks, depending on the province. In the north wheat is the main staple, in the south rice.

Petscheli is the first province because since the 15th century the [imperial] residence is here. It is completely flat. The court in the north is called Pekin, that in the south Nankin. Pekin is divided into the old and the Tatar city. The first is deserted and little inhabited. The second is the residence proper, built by the conquering Mongols. According to Macartney the Tartar city has a size of 14 English square miles, that is one third more than London, and the old city 9 English square miles. The minimum reported number of inhabitants is 2 million, the maximum 6 million. All houses here have also only one floor; the hubbub is said to be even greater than in London. The imperial palace is in the center of the Tartar city, has 1 English square mile, has many towers etc. Peking is neither a trading nor a manufacturing city, only residence, and everybody living there is connected with the court and lives off the powerful. Not far from the great wall are the imperial gardens Cehol, where the court often sojourns, and <p. 100> Macartney also had audience there.

Die Provinz Tschantong, enthält den großen kaiserl. Kanal, auf dem die Gesandschaften gereist sind. Er geht nach Süden: übertrifft alles ähnliche in Europa, u. sezt fast alle Provinzen des Reichs in Verbindg. Man transportiert nicht nur alle Waaren, sondern reist auch meistentheils auf ihm.

The province Tschantong features the great imperial canal on which the embassies travelled. It stretches toward the south and surpasses anything similar in Europe, connects almost all provinces. Not only are all goods transported on it, but one also for the most part travels on it.

* Kiangnan, die 3te Provinz, ist von den 2 großen Ströhmen durchfloßen: Ueber einen geht eine Brücke von 91 Bögen. Hier liegt Nankin: in der Gegend wächst die gelbe Baumwolle aus der der Nanking gemacht wird ohne daß sie gefärbt zu werden braucht.

Kiangnan, the 3rd province, is traversed * by two great rivers. One is crossed by a bridge of 91 arches. Nankin is located here. In this region, yellow cotton grows, from which Nanking is made without the need to dye it.

In der Provinz Tschekiang endigt der große Kanal in ein großes Baßin, bey Hangtschufuh, welches die erste Handelsstadt ist, u. fast so viel Einwohner als Pekin hat.

In the province of Tschekiang the grand canal issues into a great basin near Hangtschufuh, which is the most important trading city and has almost as many inhabitants as Peking.

In der Provinz Kiangsi wird viel Zukker gebaut, auch sind hier die großen Porzellan-Manufakturen: in einem Dorf sind dazu 3000 Oefen.

In the province of Kiangsi much sugar is produced, the great porcelain manufacturing plants are found here, too. In one village there are 3000 kilns for this purpose.

Huguangk hat sehr wundervolle Gegenden. Hier sind vorzügl. viele Bögen, die zum Andenken verdienter od: geliebter Verstorbenen an den Heerstraßen errichtet werden. Auch sind hier Granit Gebirge.

Huguangk has very wonderful regions. There are especially many arches here, erected along the army roads in memory of the meritorious or beloved deceased. Granite mountains are also found here.

Canton, heißt bey den Chinesen anders, endigt auf fuh: ist die einzige Stadt wohin die Europäer kommen können: doch dürfen sie ohne ausdrückliche Erlaubniß nur bis zur Insel Bamyen, wo alle ihre Schiffe

The Chinese call Canton differently, with them it ends in fuh. It is the only city that Europeans are allowed to visit; but without special permission they can only go the island of Bamyen where all their

* Sowohl Nankin als Pekin haben noch andre Nahmen die auf fuh enden.

* Both Nankin and Pekin also have other names that end in fuh.

landen: an der Küste sind Europäische Handlungscomptoirs. Canton soll so groß als Paris seyn. Nicht weit von Canton liegt die kleine Halb-Insel Makao die den Portugiesen gehört u. ehemals bedeutend war: obgleich sie Portugiesischen Gouverneur u. Besazzung hat, hängt es doch ganz von China ab, durch den Proviant.

* In den westlichen weniger bekannten Provinzen wächst der meiste Thee u. wird die meiste Seyden gewonnen: Leztere hat sich wahrscheinlich von der Provinz Schensi <S. 101> schon früh ins übrige Asien verbreitet u. der Welt bekannt gemacht.

Im westl. Theil sollen meist Christl. Proselyten seyn.

Die Gebirge des Junnan sind mäßig die an der Grenze sehr hoch.

Mukden ist der Ort wo die jezzige Dynastie begraben wird.

Formosa u. Haynan sind 2 Inseln unweit der Chinesischen Küsten, sollen beyde Gold haben, sind der Chinesischen Herrschaft nicht ganz unterworfen, u. jezt der Siz von Seeräubern die dem ganzen Reich schädlich u. gefährlich sind.

Die Chinesen sind 2 Mal unterjocht: durch die Mongolen unter der Familie des Tschingis-Chan im 13t Jhrhdt: Dann darauf

* Nouvelles des missions orientales 3 Vol. in 8º [19]

ships anchor; on the coast there are European trading posts. Canton is said to be as large as Paris. Not far from Canton there is the small peninsula of Makao which is owned by the Portuguese and formerly was important. Even though it has a Portuguese governor and occupation force, it is totally dependent from China for provisions.

In the western and less known provinces, * most of the tea grows and most of the silk is produced. It was probably from the province of Schensi <p. 101> that silk was at an early period exported to other regions of Asia and made known to the world.

In the western part there supposedly are predominantly Christian converts.

The mountains in Junnan are of moderate, at the frontier of very high elevation.

Mukden is the place where members of the current dynasty get buried.

Formosa and Haynan are 2 islands not far from the Chinese coasts, both are said to have gold. They are not completely subdued by Chinese rule and now house pirates who are dangerous and detrimental to the whole empire.

The Chinese have been conquered twice: by the Mongols under the family of Tschingis-Chan in the 13th century. Later by the

* Nouvelles des missions orientales 3 Vol. in 8º [19]

19 *Nouvelles des missions orientales reçues au Séminaire des missions Étrangères, à Paris 1785-86 / 1787-88*, Amsterdam, n.d.

die Manschu-Tataren die im 17t Jhrhdt durch die große Mauer drangen. Sie sind über China besonders den nördl. Theil verbreitet u. jezt noch eigentl. das herrschende Volk. Dennoch haben die Chinesen ihre Sitten behalten u. die Mongolei sich mehr nach ihnen als sie nach jenem gerichtet, doch bleibt noch immer der Zwiespalt, u. neuerlich ist noch Empörung gewesen.

Sie sind mongolischer Race.

Die Begünstigung der Natur mußte diesem großen Lande früh Kultur geben: sie scheuen Kommunikation, Originalität.

Polygamie ist erlaubt u. bey den großen findet sie sich, aber Monogamie ist eigentlich herrschend. Die Familien halten eng zusammen: denn nach der Chinesischen Denkungsart ist Familienpflicht die erste. Also sind die Familienbande hier umfaßender u. fester als bey uns.

Die Herschaft ist ganz despotisch: Der Räuber Herr des Landes. Es giebt aber besondre Einrichtungen um Moralität des Reiches zu befördern. Das Militär hat kein Uebergewicht u. Despotismus ist nicht militärisch, sondern politisch. Die Gouverneur der Provinzen <S. 102> verfahren sehr gewaltthätig.

Die Angaben der Volksmenge sind sehr verschieden; groß ist sie gewiß. Die Jesuiten haben sie auf 300 Millionen angegeben; die Engl. Gesandschaft auf 330 Millionen, welches Angabe der Chinesen u. vielleicht übertrieben ist: mäßige Angaben gehen auf 150 Millionen, welches im Verhältniß zum Flächeninhalt eine

Manschu Tatars who in the 17th century broke through the great wall. They are especially prevalent in the northern part and are still the real dominating people. Nevertheless, the Chinese have maintained their customs, and Mongolia has more adapted to China than the other way around. But there still remains the dissent, and recently there have still been troubles.

They are of Mongol race.

The favors of nature had to give to this great country culture at an early period; they avoid communication, originality.

Polygamy is permitted and is found with the powerful, but monogamy is overall prevalent. The families are tightly knit, because according to Chinese thinking the duty to the family comes first. Thus the family bonds are much firmer and more extensive than with us.

The government is entirely despotic, the robber is lord of the land. But there are special institutions to enhance the morality of the empire. The military has no predominance, and despotism is not of a military but rather political kind. The governors of provinces <p. 102> act extremely violently.

Population data are very divergent; it is certain that it is large. The Jesuits gave it as 300 million; the English embassy as 330 million, which is based on Chinese information and is possibly exaggerated. More moderate estimates amount to 150 million, which in proportion to the surface would result in a population [density] that is not

Bevölkerung nicht viel stärker als in Frankreich wäre. Sie lässt sich erklären weil Lebensmittel wohlfeil, Kriege u. Seuchen sehr selten sind.

Blos die kaiserl. Würde ist erblich u. es giebt also keinen Adel; desto schärfer ist die Abstufung des Rangs u. das Ceremonial sehr streng. Daher endlose Komplimente, welche machen daß die Chinesen Anfangs wenig zugängl. scheinen.

Die Nation ist in 3 Klassen getheilt, 1) der Ackerbauenden, 2) der Gewerbtreibenden u. Kaufleute, 3) der Mandarinen #, Koang.

Die 2te ist weniger geachtet als die der Ackerleute. Der Kaiser pflügt jährl. selbst.

Es gibt Kriegs u. Staatsmandarine, sie haben wieder 9 Klaßen, die sich durch die Zahl der Knöpfe an der Müzze auszeichnen. Sie sind eine Art persönl. Adels: jeder kann Mandarin werden, vorzügl. fürt einige gelehrte Bildung dazu, auch muss man eine Art Akademischer Grade erhalten haben.

Die jezzige Religion des Reiches ist die Lamaische denn dies ist die Religion der Manschu-Tataren. Der Dalai Lama kam nach Pekin, fast zur selben Zeit als Pius VI zu Joseph dem II: er starb zu Pekin an den Blattern.

Die Chinesen selbst haben die Religion des Fo: ihr Kultus soll dem der Katholischen gleichen: dieser ist also am meisten verbreitet.

much greater than in France. This can be explained by the cheap price of foodstuffs and the scarcity of wars and epidemics.

Only the imperial status is hereditary, and thus there is no nobility. The hierarchy of ranks is all the more important, and ceremonial is very strict. This leads to ceaseless compliments, which is why the Chinese at the outset seem little accessible.

The nation is divided into three classes. 1) the peasants, 2) the tradesmen and merchants, 3) the mandarins #, Koang.

The second is less esteemed than the peasants. Every year, the emperor in person ploughs the fields.

There are war and state mandarins, they are subdivided into 9 classes that are distinguished by the number of buttons on their hat. They are a kind of personal nobility. Anyone can become a mandarin, but mainly scholarly education leads there; one must also have received a kind of academic degrees.

The present religion of the empire is the Lamaic because this is the religion of the Manschu-Tatars. The Dalai Lama came to Pekin almost at the same time as Pius VI to Joseph II; he died in Pekin from smallpox.

The Chinese themselves have the religion of Fo. Their cult is said to resemble that of the Catholics. It is therefore most prevalent.

Dieser Namen ist Portugiesisch, Koang der Chinesische

This appellation is Portuguese, Koang is the Chinese equivalent

Die Regierung ist gegen Religion im Ganzen tolerant: die Mißionarien sind zwar verfolgt, aber nur weil sie ohne Erlaubniß in die Provinzen giengen, zur selben Zeit lehrten sie in Pekin ungestöhrt u. hatten sogar Aemter am Hof. <S. 103>

Obgleich der Hauptverkehr zu Schiffe ist, so sind doch sehr gute Landstraßen angelegt. Seefarth verstehen die Chinesen schlecht. Auch ist ihr auswärtiger Handel unbedeutend. Es ist unrühmlich ins Ausland zu gehen.

Jährl. gehen 24 Millionen Pfund Thee blos nach England: der Handel mit dem Ausland wird von einer besonderen chinesischen Gesellschaft geführt die große Abgaben bezahlt. Und doch kommt dieser Handel im Vergleich mit dem inländischen gar nicht in Betracht.

Die Ch. Sprache ist einsylbig; die vielsylbigen Wörter sind aus einsylbigen zusammengesezt: Sie ist sehr reich u. hat viele Synonymien; u. Wörter die sich in 10 Bedeutungen blos durch den Accent unterscheiden: daher ist ihre Sprache den Europäern sehr schwer, u. die Europäischen den Chinesen. Ihre Schrift hat Zeichen für Wörter u. Sylben, die sich auf 200 Grundzeichen zurückführen lassen: danach führt das Studium eines ganzen Lebens dazu, um Alles lesen zu können. Zu der Bequemlichkeit dieser Schrift gehört daß man die Bedeutung der Zeichen wißen u. sie also lesen kann, ohne Chinesisch zu

Overall, the government is tolerant. The missionaries are persecuted, but only because they went to the provinces without permission. At the same time they taught in Pekin without being bothered and even held posts at court. <p. 103>

Even though the main transportation means are ships, they have very good overland roads. The Chinese have little knowledge of seafaring. Also, their foreign trade is unimportant. It is considered a blemish to go abroad.

As many as 24 million pounds of tea per year go to England alone. Trade with foreign countries is controlled by a special Chinese society, and high taxes are paid. Nevertheless, trade with foreign countries is totally negligible compared to internal trade.

The Chinese language is monosyllabic. The polysyllabic words are composed of monosyllabic ones. It is very rich and has many synonyms as well as words whose ten meanings are only distinguished by the accent. For this reason, their language is very difficult for Europeans, and European languages for the Chinese. Their writing system has characters for words and syllables that can be reduced to 200 basic elements. A whole life of study is needed after that to be able to read everything. One of the conveniences of this writing system is that one can know the meaning of a sign and thus read without knowing Chinese.

können. # Man schreibt von Oben nach Unten. Sie schreiben auf Papier aus der dünnen Rinde des Bambus, mit Pinsel u. Tusche. Auch drucken sie, u. haben Druckerey lange vor uns gehabt: doch nicht mit beweglichen Lettern, sondern mit Holzformen in die die Zeichen geschnitten * sind. Von ihrer großen Literatur ist vieles zu Grunde gegangen weil man sie verfolgte u. verbrannte.

Con-fu-ce ist ihr hauptsächlicher Philosoph, lebte wahrscheinlich 600 J. v. Chr. Der Tschu-king ist sein Hauptwerk, besteht größtentheils aus Lebensregeln u. Sittensprüchen: fortlaufendes philos. Räsonnement haben sie nicht; Konfuzius hat viele Kommentatoren u. Schulen u. s. w.

Ihre Poesie scheint in der Kindheit: epische Gedichte von ihnen kennt man nicht. Sie haben Schauspiele die hauptsächlich extemporiert werden.

Ihre Geschichte geht mit Gewißheit bis 3000 J. v. Chr. <S. 104>

Höher hinauf kommen astronomische Perioden: es sind nur Annalen, u. zwar enthalten sie fast nur die Kriege. Was die obenerwähnte Histoire de la Chine bezeugt.

One writes from top to bottom. They write on paper made from the thin bark of bamboo, using brush and ink. They also print and have had printing long before us, but not with moving types but with wood blocks into which the signs are carved. Much of their great literature has perished * because of persecution and book burning.

Con-fu-ce is their principal philosopher, lived probably 600 before Christ. The Tschu-king is his main work. It consists for the most part of rules of conduct and moral maxims. They do not have coherent philosophical reasoning. Confucius has many commentators and schools, etc.

Their poetry seems to still be in childhood; one does not know epic poems by them. They have dramas that are for the most part improvised.

Their history goes with certainty back to 3000 years before Christ. <p. 104>

Astronomical records go back further; they are only annals, and they contain almost exclusively the wars. Which is proven by the above-mentioned Histoire de la Chine.

Jeder kann seine Sprache daraus herauslesen.

* Asiatisches Magazin v. Klaproth, hat nur Einen Band. [20]

Everyone can read their own language out of it.

* Asiatisches Magazin by Klaproth, has only one volume. [20]

20 Julius H. Klaproth, ed., *Asiatisches Magazin*. Weimar: Industrie-Comptoir, 1802 (2 vols).

Ihre Mahlerey ist ohne Perspektive v. Licht u. Schatten.

Their painting is without perspective of light and shadow.

Ihre Baukunst zeigt große Werke die aber alt sind u. man zweifelt, daß sie jezt ähnlich liefern könnten.

Their architecture features great works which are, however, old; and one doubts that they could make anything similar now.

APPENDIX 2: SCHOPENHAUER'S NOTES AND EXCERPTS FROM *ASIATICK RESEARCHES* VOLS 1–9

The transcription presented in this appendix is a slightly revised version of Schopenhauer's *Asiatick Researches* notes from 1815–1816 (see exact dates of library borrowings in the header of the notes to each volume). My transcription as published in the *Schopenhauer Jahrbuch* of 1998 (pp. 15–33) includes some introductory remarks (pp. 11–14). The original pagination of the *Schopenhauer Jahrbuch* has been left as is to facilitate reference.

Schopenhauer's handwritten notes are printed in a format that reproduces the original manuscript as closely as possible.[1] Words underlined by Schopenhauer are underlined, terms misspelled by Schopenhauer are misspelled, and no "sic's" or "(!)" are used. The text was thoroughly spell-checked and proofread; thus seeming "mistakes", oversights, and variant spellings stem from Schopenhauer's hand. Mistakes such as "allmost universaly" instead of "almost universally" (XXIX p. 213) or "devine" instead of "divine" are thus no misprints but rather faithful reproductions of the original notes. Notes that are in the margins of Schopenhauer's manuscript are here printed in the margins, and Schopenhauer's vertical lines that emphasize text are reproduced in approximately the same thickness and length. The languages are left as they are in the original: English passages were noted by Schopenhauer in English, German ones in German. However, several features were added for the convenience of the reader:

1. The page breaks of the original manuscript are marked; for example, the marker <HN XXIX p. 206> points to the beginning of p. 206 of case 29 of the manuscript remains.

2. Schopenhauer sometimes repeated the journal title and volume number at the beginning of a new sheet of paper. In this printed edition I have chosen to use a single title at the beginning of the notes to each volume. The date of

[1] For an overall description of the manuscript and its discovery see App 1998b.

Schopenhauer's documented perusal as well as some additional information underneath each title were added by me.

3. Schopenhauer's indications of page numbers of the *Asiatick Researches* were sometimes encircled, sometimes underlined, and sometimes left unmarked; for easier reference, they are here all set in bold type.

4. All notes underneath the line at the bottom of the pages (and of course the numbers that refer to them in the text) are added by the present editor. These notes include my English translations of German passages. The reader can thus rest assured that—with the exception of footnote numbers, page markers, and the above-mentioned headers furnishing *Asiatick Researches* publication data and library borrowing dates—all text above the bottom line stems from Schopenhauer's hand.

Schopenhauer's Notes to Asiatick Researches, vol. 1

HN XXIX, 205-207. Calcutta edition 1788; London 5th edition 1806.
Borrowed in Dresden from 1815/11/7 until 1815/11/21

p 223. Máyá: the word is explained by some Hindoo Scholars "the first Inclination of the Godhead to diversify himself by creating worlds". She is feigned to be the mother of universal nature & of all the inferior Gods; as a Cashmirian informed me, when I asked him, why Cama or Love was represented as her son: but the word Maya or delusion has a more subtle & recondite sense in the Vedanta philosophy, where it signifies the system of perceptions.

p 243. The Vedantis, unable to form a distinct idea of brute matter independent of mind, or to conceive that the work of supreme Goodness was left a moment to itself, imagine that the Deity is ever present to its work, and constantly supports a series of perceptions, which, in one sense, they call illusory; though they cannot but admit the reality of all created forms, as far as the happiness of creatures can be affected by them. <HN XXIX p. 206>

p 410. The Hindu system of musick has, I believe, been formed on truer principles than our own. Jones.

p 424. The six philosophical schools, whose principles are explained in the Dersana Sástra — &ca — Jones.

p 425. Jones nimmt an daß Odin (!) Buddha u. Fo[1] derselbe sei.

ibid. We may fix the time of Buddha or the ninth great incarnation of Vishnu 1014 a. C. n.

426 Rama was a descendant from the Sun: the Peruvians, whose Incas boasted of the same descent stiled their greatest festival Ramasitoa.

429 The Vedas, as far as we can judge from that compendium of them, which is call'd Upanishat, — — &ca —

430 The philosopher whose works are said to include a system of the universe, founded on the principle of attraction & the central position of the Sun, is named Yavan Acharya, because he had travell'd, we are told, into Jonia. <HN XXIX p. 207> If this be true, he might have been one of those who conversed with Pythagoras. This at least is undeniable, that a book in Sanscrit bears the title of Yavana Jatica, which may signify the Jonic sect. Nor is it improbable, that the

[1] English translation: "Jones assumes that Odin (!), Buddha, and Fo are identical." Urs App: Fo is the reading for the Chinese character 佛 signifying Buddha. At the time, the word "Buddhism" and its cousins were not yet in common use and confusion reigned about the connections between various "heathen" cults of Asia. See also Schopenhauer's notes to vol. 6 and App 2010.

names of the Planets & Zodiacal Stars, which the Arabs borrow'd from the Greeks, but which we find in the oldest Indian records, were originally devised by the same ingenious & interprising race, from whom both Greece & India were peopled. Jones.

Schopenhauer's Notes to Asiatick Researches, vol. 2

HN XXIX, 207. Calcutta edition 1790; London 5th edition 1807.
Borrowed in Dresden from 1815/11/21 until 1816/1/16

p 121–127 Ueber Buddha und Fo.[1]

p 401. wichtige Stelle über Indische Chronologie, das Entstehen der Veda's; Uebereinstimmung Indischer und Mosaischer Chronologie. Der ältere Manu ist Adam, der jüngere Noa: die 3 Ramas sind Bakchus. Sichere Indische Geschichte erst 3–400 J. n. C.[2]

p 305. Three of the Vedas I firmly believe, from internal & external evidence to be more than 3000 years old. Jones. <HN XXIX p. 208>

Schopenhauer's Notes to Asiatick Researches, vol. 4

HN XXIX, 208–215. Calcutta edition 1795; London 4th edition 1807.
Borrowed in Dresden from 1816/1/16 until remittance (probably mid-March 1816)

p XIV All our historical researches have confirmed the Mosaick accounts of the primitive world. Jones.

p 161.[3] The Metaphysics and Logic of the Brahmins, comprised in their 6 philosophical Sastras & explained by numerous glosses & comments, have never yet been accessible to Europeans: but, by the help of the Sanskrit language we now may read the works of the Saugatus, Bauddhas, Arhatas, Jainas, & others heterodox philosophers, whence we may gather the metaphysical tenets prevalent in China & Japan, in the eastern peninsula of India, & in many considerable nations of Tartary †. There are also some valuable tracts on these branches of science in Persian & Arabic, partly copied from the Greeks, & partly comprising the doctrines of the Súf'is, which anciently prevailed & still prevail in a great measure over this Oriental world, & which the Greeks themselves condescended to borrow from eastern sages. — <HN XXIX p. 209>

† also nicht im eigentlichen Hindostan.[4]

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[1] English translation: "About Buddha and Fo." Urs App: Schopenhauer refers to pages of the article "On the Chronology of the Hindus" by the president of the Asiatic Society, William Jones (AR 2, pp. 111–147).

[2] English translation: "Important passage about Indian chronology, the origin of the Vedas; Indian and Mosaic chronologies match. The older Manu is Adam, the younger one Noah: the 3 *Ramas* are Bacchus. Certain Indian history only 300–400 A.D."

[3] Urs App: The following remarks are based on pp. 168–173 of *Asiatick Researches* 4.

[4] English translation: "Thus not in India proper."

16

The little treatise in 4 chapters, ascribed to Vyasa †, is the only philosophical Sastra the text of which I have perused, with a Bramin of the Vedanta school; it is extremely obscure, & though composed in sentences eloquently modulated, has more resemblance to a table of contents, or an accurate summary, than to a regular systematical tract: but all its obscurity has been cleared by Sancara, whose commentary on the Vedanta not only elucidates every word of the text, but exhibits a perspicuous account of all other Indian schools, from that of Capila to those of the more modern hereticks. It is not possible to speak with too much applause of so excellent a work, & until an accurate translation of it shall appear, the general history of philosophy must remain incomplete.

† (der Dichter zweier alter Puranas, Sammler der Vedas, u. Urheber der Vedanta-Philosophie; von ihm u. seinem Traktat weiter unten ausführlich.[1]

Vyasa & Sancara

The oldest head of a sect, whose entire work is preserved, was (according to some authors) Capila, a sage who invented the Sanchya or numeral philosophy <HN XXIX p. 210> which Creeshna himself appears to impugn in his conversation with Arjoona. His doctrines were enforced & illustrated, with some additions by Patanjali, who has also left us a fine comment on the grammatical rules of Panini, which are more obscure without a gloss, than the darkest oracle.

Capila & Patanjali.

on Capila see Vol. 6, p 473 seqq:

The next founder, I believe, of a philosophical school, was Gotama, if indeed he was not the most ancient of all. A sage of his name, whom we have no reason to suppose different from him, is often mentioned in the Vedas itself. To his rational doctrines those of Canáda were in general conformable, & the philosophy of them both is usually call’d Nyáya, or logical: a title aptly bestowed; for it seems to be a system of Metaphysics & logic, better accommodated than any other anciently known in India, to the natural reason <HN XXIX p. 211> & common sense of mankind, admitting the actual existence of material substance in the popular acceptation of the word matter, & comprising not only a body of sublime dialectics, but an artificial method of reasoning, with distinct names for the 3 parts of a proposition & even for those of regular syllogism. — A singular tradition prevailed, according to the well-informed author of the Dabistán, in the Panjab, & in several Persian provinces; that “among other Indian curiosities which Callisthenes transmitted to his uncle, was a technical system of Logic, which the Bramins had communicated to the inquisitive Greek,” & which the Mahommedan writer supposes to have been the ground-work to the famous Aristotelean method. If this be true, it is one of the most interesting facts I have met with in Asia; & if it be false, <HN XXIX p. 212> it is very extraordinary that such a Story should have been fabricated either by the candid Mohsani Fani or by the simple Parsis & Pandits, with whom he had conversed. But not having had leisure to study the

Gotama & Canáda

[1] English translation: “The poet of two old puranas, collector of the Vedas and originator of the Vedanta philosophy; more detailed information about him and his tractate below.”

17

Nyaya Sastra, I can only assert that I have frequently seen perfect syllogisms in the philosophical writing of the Bramins, & have often heard them used in their verbal controversies.

Vyasa, Jaimini, & Sancara.

† Vol. 8, p 482 Colebrooke says: The object of the Mimánsá is to establish the cogency of precepts, contained in scripture & to furnish maxims for its interpretation, & for the same purpose rules of reasoning, from which a system of Logic is deducible. The object of the Vedanta is to illustrate the system of mystical Theology taught by the supposed revelation & to show its application to the enthusiastic pursuit of unimpassioned perfection & mystical intercourse with the divinity. Both are closely connected with the Vedas.

Whatever might have been the merit or age of Gotama, yet the most celebrated Indian school is that, with which I began, founded by Vyasa, & supported in most respects by his pupil Jaimini, whose dissent on a few points is mention’d by his master with respectfull moderation: their several systems are frequently distinguished by the name of the first & the second Mimansa, a word which, like Nyaya, denotes the operations & conclusions of reason but the tract of Vyasa has in general the name of Vedanta †,or the scope <HN XXIX p. 213> & end of the Veda, on the texts of which, as they were understood by the philosopher who collected them††, his doctrines are principally grounded. The fundamental tenet of the Vedanta school, to which in a more modern age the incomparable Sancara††† was a firm & illustrious adherent, consisted not in denying the existence of matter, but in correcting the popular notion of it, & in contending that it has no existence independent of mental perception; that existence & perceptibility are convertible terms; that external appearences & sensations are illusory, & would vanish into nothing if the divine energy, which alone sustains them were suspended for a moment. —

†† Vyasa

But the Brahmins of this province follow allmost universaly the system of Gotama.

††† von welchem Kommentator des Vyasa oben die Rede war[1]

†††† (of the Buddhaists)

Buddha

Band 6, p 136, wird Buddha u. Gotama als die nämliche Person angesehn. Vergl. Bd. 6, p 447. über die Zeit des Buddha-Gotama[2]

The pupils of Buddha have an opinion diametrally opposite to the <HN XXIX p. 214> Metaphysics of the Vedantis; for they are charged with denying the existence of pure spirit, & with believing nothing absolutely & really to exist but material substance. This accusation ought only to have been made on incontestable proofs, especially by the orthodox Brahmins, who, as Buddha dissented from their ancestors in regard to bloody sacrifices, which the Veda certainly prescribes, may not unjustly be suspected of malignity. I have only read a few pages of a Saugata book, †††† which begins like other Hindu books with the word O’m, which we know to be a symbol of the devine attributes; then follows, indeed, a mysterious hymn to the Goddess of Nature by the name Aryá, but with several other titles which the Bramins constantly bestow on their Devi. Now the Brahmins, who have no idea that such a personage exists as Devi, or the Goddess, & only mean to express allegorically the power of God exerted in creating, preserving & renovating the universe, we cannot with justice infer that the dissenters admit no Deity but visible <HN XXIX p. 215> Nature. — Jones.

[1] English translation: “which commentator of Vyasa was mentioned above”.

[2] English translation: “In volume 6, p. 136, Buddha and Gotama are seen as the same person. Cf. also vol. 6, p 447 about the period of Buddha-Gotama”.

18

Schopenhauer's Notes to Asiatick Researches, vol. 5

HN XXIX, 215-217. Calcutta edition 1795; London 1st edition 1799.
Borrowed in Dresden from 1816/3/14 until 1816/4/13

p V. Jones in his preface to the ordinances of Menu, according to the Gloss of Culluca, carries the highest age of the Yajur Veda † 1580 years a.C.n., which is 9 years before the birth of Moses, & 90 before Moses departed from Egypt. Culluca produced on the Vedas the most perfect & luminous commentary that ever was composed on any author, ancient or modern, European or Asatik, & it is this work to which the learned generally apply. —

† (Djedjr Beid ?)

p 147.[1] Swayambhuwa is the first Menu & the first of men, the first male: his help-meet Pricriti, is Adima, the mother of the world: she is Iva or like I, the female energy of nature; she is a form of, or descended from I.—

Swayambhuva is Brahma in human shape, or the first Brahma : for Brahma is man individually & also collectively mankind; <HN XXIX p. 216> hence Brahma is said to be born & to die every day, as there are men springing to life & dying every day. — Collectively he dies every 100 years, this being the utmost limit of life in the Cali-yug, according to the Puranas: at the end of the world Brahma or mankind is said to die also, at the end of 100 divine years.

From the beginning to the end of things, there will be 5 Calpas. We are now in the middle of the 4th Calpa: 50 years of Brahma being elapsed, & of the remainder the first Calpa is begun.

p 322. Valmik & Vyasa lived in the year 2830, of the Creation. The war of Mahabarat was at the time of Vyasa, who wrote the epic poem Mahabarat.

p 349. The Gayatry (chief-prayer).

Gayatry.

We meditate on the adorable light of the resplendent generator <HN XXIX p. 217> which governs our intellects; which is water, lustre, savour, immortal faculty of thought, Brahme, earth, sky, & heaven.

Commentary to it, or reflections with which the text should be inaudibly recited:

"On that effulgent power, which is Brahme himself, & is called the light of the radiant sun, do I meditate; governed by the mysterious light which resides within me, for the purpose of thought; that very light is the earth, the subtle ether & all which exists within the created sphere; it is the threefold world containing all which is fixed or moveable; it exists internally in my heart, externally in the orb of the Sun, being one & the same with that effulgent power. I myself am an irradiated manifestation of the supreme Brahme.

[1] Urs App: Related information is found on p. 247 of *Asiatick Researches* 5 rather than p. 147.

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Schopenhauer’s Notes to Asiatick Researches, vol. 6

HN XXIX, 218–221. Calcutta edition 1799; London 1st edition 1801.
Borrowed in Dresden from 1816/4/2 until 1816/4/13

p 179. The Burma (i.e. disciples of Gotama or Buddha) writers alledge, that in death the soul perishes with the body, after whose dissolution out of the same materials an other being arises, which, according to the good or bad actions of the former life, becomes either a man or an animal or a Nat or a Rupa &ca.

p 180. This doctrine of transmigration prevents not the belief in ghosts or apparitions of the dead.

The Sect of Gotama esteem the belief of a divine being, who created the universe, to be highly impious.

p 204. Die Brahmen haben denselben Thierkreis als wir, den auch die Griechen u. die Chaldäer geglaubt haben. Ob aber die Brahmen, wie sie selbst behaupten, od: die Chaldäer ihn erfunden haben ist strittig.[1]

† d. ist die Lehre des Buddha.[2]

p 256 u. f.f. ausführlich über Buddha[3]

p 255 The religion of the Burmas † exhibits a nation considerably advanced from the rudeness of the savage nature <HN XXIX p. 219> & in all the actions of life much under the influence of religious opinions, & yet ignorant of a supreme Being the creator & preserver of the Universe. The system of morals however recommanded by these fables, is perhaps as good as that held forth by any of the religious doctrines prevailing among mankind.

p 258 Godamas followers are, strictly speaking, Atheists, as they suppose every thing to arise from fate: & their gods are merely men, who by their virtue acquire supreme happiness.

Jones supposes Bouddha to have been the same with Sesostris, king of Egypt, “who by conquest spread a new system of religion & philosophy, from the Nile to the Ganges, about 1000 years a. C. n.”

p 261 I allow it to be a probable opinion, though not perfectly establish’d, that Fo & Buddha (Gotama) are the same god. — I must entirely dissent from Mr Chambers, when he supposes Budha to be the same with the Woden of the Scandinavians. <HN XXIX p. 220>

Shakia Muni

p 260–263 Ueber die Religion der Chinesen. Der Gott Shaka der Chinesen ist wahrscheinlich Buddha.[4]

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[1] English translation: “The Brahmans have the same animal zodiac as we do and that also the Greeks and Chaldaeans believed in. However, whether the Brahmans invented it, as they assert, or whether the Chaldaeans invented it, is a subject of debate.”

[2] English translation: “This is the teaching of the Buddha.”

[3] English: “pp. 256 ff. in more detail about Buddha.”

[4] English: “About the religion of the Chinese. The god Shaka of the Chinese is probably Buddha.”

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p 180. The disciples of Buddha alledge that beings are continually revolving in the Changes of Transmigration, until they have performed such actions as entitle them to Nieban, the most perfect of all states, consisting in a kind of annihilation.

p 266 When a person is no longer subject to any of the following miseries, namely, to weight, old age, disease, & death, then he is said to have obtained Nieban. No thing, no place, can give us an adequate idea of Nieban: we can only say, that to be free from the 4 above mentioned miseries, & to obtain salvation, is Nieban. In the same manner, as when any person labouring under a severe disease, recovers by the assistence of medicine, we say he has obtained health: but if any person whishes to know the manner, or cause of his thus obtaining health, it can only be answer'd, that to be restored to health signifies no more, than to be recover'd from disease. In the same manner only can we speak of Nieban: & after this manner Godama taught. <HN XXIX p. 221>

p 265 The gods who have appeared in this present world & have obtained Nieban are 4, of whom the latest is Godama.

p 267 Ueber die Seelenwanderung [1]

p 268 Der Theismus unter den Ketzereien angeführt.

Die Priester des Buddha heissen Rahans. [2]

p 506 The great Lama is an incarnation of Vishnu.

p 507 seq: über Deo-Calyun i.e. Deukalion.[3]

p 513 Prometheus den Indiern bekannt.[5]

The followers of Buddha have many valuable books: it appears also that they have Vedas & Puranas of their own.

p 530 Buddha als Avatar.[6]

Chezy in seinem Aufsatz über Indische Literat: im Magazin encyclopédique, Mars 1815. nennt die 4 Vedas so: Ritch, Yadjouch, Saman, Atharvana. — Colebrooke schreibt: Rich, Yajush, Sáman, At'harvana. —[4]

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[1] English translation: “About transmigration.”

[2] English: “Theism mentioned among the heresies. The priests of Buddha are called Rahans.”

[3] English: “p 507 ff. about Deo-Calyun, i.e., Deukalion”

[4] English: “Chezy in his paper on Indian Literature in the Magazin encyclopédique, March 1815, calls the 4 Vedas as follows: Ritch, Yadjouch, Saman, Atharvana. — Colebrooke writes: Rich, Yajush, Sáman, At'harvana. —”

[5] English: “Prometheus known to the Indians.”

[6] English: “Buddha as avatar.”

Schopenhauer’s Notes to Asiatick Researches, vol. 7

HN XXIX, 221-226. Calcutta edition 1801; London edition 1803.
Borrowed in Dresden from 1816/4/22 until 1816/4/26

p 32. Aufsatz über Buddha u. seine Lehren.[1]

p 202. Every Purana treats of 5 subjects: the creation of the universe, its progress, & the renovation of the worlds; the genealogy of gods & heroes; chronology, according to a fabulous system; & heroick history, containing the achievements of demi-gods & heroes.

The Puranas may therefore be compared to the Grecian Theogonies. Colebrooke. <HN XXIX p. 222>

p 233 Mantra signifies a prayer used at religious ceremonies.

p 251 Eine Stelle aus den Vedas die gebetet wird nach einer Mahlzeit der Priester bei der Todtenfeier:[2]

Rhode, über Religion u. Philosophie des Hindu Bd. 2, p 405 giebt Uebersetzung dieses Gebets, von welchem er behauptet daß es bei jedem täglichen Bade gebetet wird; wie es scheint nach einem Auffsatz v. Colebrook in Asiat: res: Vol. 5, über die Religiös: Ceremonien d. Hindu. Er giebt an es sei in Versen u. werde gesungen. Es ist ein Glaubensbekenntniß, ein Credo.[3]

† See translation of Menu: ch: 1, v. 32.

1. The embodied spirit which has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, stands in the human breast, while he totally pervades the earth. 2. That being is this universe, & all that has been, or will be: he is that which grows by nourishment, & he is the distributor of immortallity. 3. Such is his greatness, & therefore is he the most excellent embodied spirit: the elements of the universe are one portion of him; & 3 portions of him are immortallity in heaven. 4. That threefold being rose above (this world); & the single portion of him remained in this universe, which consists of what does & what does not taste (the reward of good & bad actions): again he pervaded the universe. 5. From him sprung Viraj †, from whom <HN XXIX p. 223> (the first) man was produced: & he, being successively reproduced, peopled the earth. 6. From that single portion, surnamed the universal sacrifice, was the holy oblation of butter & curds produced; & this did frame all cattle, wild & domestic, which are governed by instinct. 7. From that universal sacrifice were produced the strains of the Rich & Sáman; from him the sacred metres sprung; from him did the Yajush proceed. 8. From him were produced horses & all beasts, that have 2 rows of teeth; from him sprung cows, from him proceeded goats & sheep. 9. Him the gods, the demi-gods, named Sad’hya, & the holy sages, immolated as a victime on sacred grass, & thus performed a

[1] English translation: “Article about Buddha and his teaching.” Note by the editor: Schopenhauer here refers to Captain Mahony’s “On Singhala, or Ceylon, and the Doctrines of Bhooddha, from the Books of the Singhalais.” *Asiatick Researches* 7, pp. 32–56.

[2] English translation: “A passage from the Vedas that is prayed after a meal of the priests at the funeral.”

[3] English translation: “Rhode, über Religion u. Philosophie der Inder, vol. 2, p. 405, provides translation of this prayer, of which he asserts that it is offered at every daily bath, as seems to follow from a paper by Colebrooke in Asiat. res. vol. 5, about the religious ceremonies of the Hindu. He indicates that it is in verse and is sung. It is a proclamation of faith, a credo.”
Urs App: Since Rhode’s *Über religiöse Bildung, Mythologie und Philosophie der Hindus* was published in 1827, this note must have been added by Schopenhauer after that date.

solemn act of religion. 10. Into how many portions <HN XXIX p. 224> did they divide this being, whom they immolated? What did his mouth become? what are his arms, his thighs & his feet now called? † 11. His mouth became a priest; his arm was made a soldier; his thigh was transformed into a husbandman; from his feet sprung the servile man. 12. The moon was produced from his mind; the sun sprung from his eye; air & breath proceeded from his ear, & fire rose from his mouth. 13. The subtle element rose from his navel; the sky from his head, the earth from his feet, & space from his ear: thus did he frame worlds. 14. In that solemn sacrifice, which the Gods performed with him as a victim, spring was the butter, summer the fuel & sultry weather the oblation.

† Vergleiche Seite 3 des vorigen Bogens: Brahma is man & mankind.[1]

15. Seven were the moats (surrounding the altar) thrice 7 were the <HN XXIX p. 225> logs of holy fuel, at that sacrifice, which the Gods performed, immolating this being as the victim. 16. By that sacrifice the gods worshipped this victim: such were primeval duties, & thus did they obtain heaven, where former gods & demi-gods abide.

p 256 Legal suicide was formerly common among the Hindus, & is not now very rare; although instances of men burning themselves have not perhaps lately occurred so often as their drowning themselves in holy rivers. The blind father & mother of the young anchorite, whom Dasaratha slew by mistake, burnt themselves with the corpse of their son. The scholiast of Raghuwansa, in which poem, as well as in Ramayana, this story is beautifully told, quotes a text of law, to prove that suicide is in such instances legal. — Instances <HN XXIX p. 226> are not unfrequent, when persons afflicted with loathsome & incurable diseases have caused themselves to be buried alive. — Among the lowest tribes of the inhabitants of Bera & Gondwana suicide is not unfrequently vowed by such persons in return fro boons sollicited from idols; & to fullfill this vow, the successfull votary throws himself from a precipice named Calaibharawa. The annual fair held near that spot at the beginning of spring, usually witnesses 8 or 10 victimes of that superstition.

p 397 Abhandlung über die Buddhaisten auf Ceilon, mit einer Liste ihrer Bücher.[2]

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[1] English translation: "Compare page 3 of the previous sheet: Brahma is man & mankind."
Urs App: Schopenhauer here refers to the note to *Asiatick Researches* 5, p. 147 that is found at the end of HN XXIX p. 216.

[2] English translation: "Article about the Buddhaists of Ceylon, with a list of their books."
Urs App: Schopenhauer refers to Mr. Joinville's long article "On the Religion and Manners of the People of Ceylon" found in AR 7, pp. 397–444. The list of books is on pp. 443–444 and contains 17 works, including texts in Pali, Sanskrit and Singhalese, grammars, and dictionaries.

Schopenhauer’s Notes to Asiatick Researches, vol. 8

HN XXIX, 227-249. Calcutta edition 1805; London edition 1808.
Borrowed in Dresden from 1816/4/26 until 1816/5/16

p 381. Rich, Yajush & Saman are the 3 principal portions of the Vedas: Atharvana is commonly admitted as a fourth: & divers mythological poems, entitled Itihása & Puránas are reckoned as a supplement to the Scripture, & as such constitute a 5th Veda.

The mythological poems were only figuratively called a Veda.

Prayers employ’d at solemn rites called Yajnyas have been placed in the 3 principal Vedas: those which are in prose are called Yajush; such as are in metre are called Rich ; those intended to be chanted are called Saman: & these names as distinguishing different portions of the Vedas are anterior to their separation in Vyasas compilation. But the Atharvana, not being used at the religious ceremonies above mention’d, & containing prayers, employed at lustrations, at rites conciliating the deities, <HN XXIX p. 228> & as imprecations on ennemies, is essentially different of the other Vedas.

p 387. Each Veda consists of 2 parts, denominated the Mantras & the Brámanas, or prayers & precepts. the complete collection of the hymns, prayers & invocations, belonging to one Veda, is entitled its Sanhitá. Every other portion of the Veda is included under the general head of divinity, Bráhmana. This comprises precepts, which inculcate religious duties; maxims, which explain those precepts; & arguments, which relate to Theology. But, in the present arrangement of the Védas, the portion, which contains passages called Bráhmanas, includes many, which are strictly prayers or Mantras. The Theology of the Indian scripture†, comprehending the argumentative portion called Vedanta, is contained in tracts, denominated Upanishads, some of which are portions of the Bráhmana, properly so called; others are found only in a detached form; and one is a part of a Sanhitá itself. Colebrooke. <HN XXIX p. 229>

† i.e. the Vedas

p 388 Rick-Veda, is called so because its Sanhita contains, for the most part, encomiastick prayers in verses, & Rick signifies to laud.

p 391 The Rishi or Saint of a Mantra is “he by whom it is spoken”, the inspired writer of the text.

The Dévatá is “that, which is therein mentioned”, generally the Deity that is lauded or supplicated in the prayer, but also the Subject treated in the Mantra.

If the Mantra is in form of a Dialogue, the discourses are alternately considered as Rishi & Dévatá.

p 392 The names of the respective authors of each passage are preserved in the Anuncramani, or explanatory table of contents, which has been handed down with the Veda itself, & of which the authority is unquestionned. <HN XXIX p. 230>

p 395 The numerous names of deities invoked in the Vedas, are all resolvable in different titles of 3 deities. The Nighanti or glossary of the Vedas concludes with 3 lists of names of deities: the first comprising such as are deemed synonymous with fire; the 2d with air; the 3d with the Sun.

p 396: Passage out of the Niructa: "The deities are only 3, whose places are the earth, the intermediate region & heaven: namely fire, air & the Sun. They are pronounced to be the deities of the mysterious names † severally: & Prajapati the Lord of Creatures is the deity of them collectively. The syllable Om intends every deity: it belongs to Paramesheti , him, who dwells in the supreme abode: to Brahme, the vast one; to Deva, god; to Adhyátma, the superintending soul. Other deities, belonging to the several regions, are portions of the 3 Gods: for they are variously named & described, on account of their several operations: <HN XXIX p. 231> but in fact their is only one deity the great soul, Mahán Átmá. He is called the Sun, for he is the soul of all beings: & that is declared by the sage "the Sun is the Soul of what moves & of that which is fixed". Other deities are portions of him: & that is expressely declared by the Sage: "The wise call fire Indra, Mitra & Varuna &ca.

† Bhur, Bhurah, Swar. See Menu c2. v76

p 398 Every line of the Veda is replete with allusions to Mythology, but not a mythology which avowedly exalts deified heroes, as in the Puranas; but one which personifies the elements & planets; & which peoples heaven & the region below with various orders of beings. I observe however in many places the groundwork of Legend. families in mythological poëms. But I do not remark any thing that corresponds with the favorite legends of those sects, which worship either the Linga or Sacti, or else Rama or Crishna.

<HN XXIX p. 232>

p 426 Asu is the unconscious volition, which occasions an act necessary to the support of life, as breathing &ca.

472 The term Upanishad is in dictionnaries made equivalent to Rehesya, which signifies mystery.† This last term is in fact frequently employed by Menu & other ancient authors, where the commentators understand Upanishad to be meant. But neither the etymology, nor the acceptation of the word has any direct connection with the idea of concealment, secrecy or mystery. Its proper meaning according

† Daher Anquetil: Secretum tegendum [1]

[1] English translation: "Thus Anquetil: Secretum tegendum". Urs App: *Secretum tegendum* (the secret to be safeguarded) is A.-H. Anquetil-Duperron's Latin rendering of the term "Upanishad".

to Sancara, Sayana & all the commentators is divine science or the knowledge of god: & according to the same authorities, it is equally applicable to Theology itself & to a book in which this science is taught. Its derivation is from the verb sad (shad-lri) to destroy, to move, or to weary, preceded by the prepositions upa near, & ni continually, or nis certainly. <HN XXIX p. 233>

p 473 The whole of the Indian Theology is professedly founded on the Upanishads: it is expressely so affirmed in the Vedanta Sára, v 3. Those which have been before described (in this essay) have been shown to be extracts from the Veda. The rest are also consider’d as appartaining to the Indian Scripture: it does not however appear whether they are detached essays, or have been extracted from a Bráhmaná of the Atharva-Veda.

In the best copies of the 52 Upanishads the first 15 are stated to have been taken from the AtharvaVeda. The remaining 37 appear to be various Sac’has, mostly to that of the Paipaladis, but some from other Vedas.

p 474 The Mundaca & Prasna are the 2 first Upanishads of the Atharvana, & of great importance: each of them has 6 sections. The 9 succeeding Upanishads are of inferior importance. Then follows the Manducya, consisting of 4 parts, each constituting a distinct Upanishad. <HN XXIX p. 234> This abstruse treatise comprises the most important doctrines of the Vedanta.

p 488 I think it probable, that the Vedas were composed by Dwapayana, the person who is said to have collected them, & who is thence surnamed Vyasa, or the compiler. (Colebrooke.)

p 494 Liable to suspicion of being spurious are the remaining detached Upanishads of the AtharvanaVeda, which are not received in the best collection of 52 theological tracts belonging to the AtharvaVeda; & even some of those which are there inserted, particularly 2: one entitled Rama Tapanya, consisting of 2 parts Purva & Uttara: & the other called Gopala Tapanya, also comprising 2 parts, of which one is named Crishna Upanishad. The suspicion on these latter is chiefly grounded on the opinion, that the sects which now worship Rama & Crishna as incarnations of Vishnu, are comparatively new. I have not found in any other part of <HN XXIX p. 235> the Vedas the least trace of such a worship. The real doctrine of the whole Indian scripture is the unity of the deity, in whom the universe is comprehended: & the seeming polytheism which it exhibits, offers the elements, & the stars & planets as gods. The 3 principal manifestations of the divinity, with other personified attributes & energies, & most of the other Gods of the Hindu mythology, are indeed mentioned, or at least indicated, in the Vedas. But the worship of deified heroes is no part of that system: nor are

Vol. IX, p 293 Colebrook says: “The mere mention of Rama & Crishna in a passage of the Vedas, without any indication of peculiar reverence, would not authorize a presumption against the genuineness of that passage.

the incarnations of the deities suggested in any other portion of the text, which I have seen.

According to the notions which I entertain of the real history of the Hindu religion, the worship of Rama & Crishna by the Vaishanavas, & that of Mahadeva & Bavani by the Saivas & Sactas have been generally introduced since the persecution of the Baudd'has & Jainas. The institutions of the Vedas are anterior to Budd'ha <HN XXIX p. 236> whose Theology seems to have been borrowed from the system of Capila, & whose most conspicuous practical doctrine is stated to have been the unlawfullness of Killing animals, which in his opinion were to frequently slain for the purpose of eating their flesh, under the pretence of performing a sacrifice of Yajnya. The overthrow of the sect of Buddha in India has not effected the full revival of the religious system inculcated in the Vedas. Most of what is there taught is now obsolete; & in its stead new orders of religious devotees have been instituted, & new forms of religious ceremonies have been establish'd. Rituals founded on the Puranas, & observances borrowed from a worse source the Tantras, have, in great measure, antiquated the institutions of the Vedas. The adoration of Rama & Crishna has succeeded to that of the elements & planets. If this opinion be well founded it follows, that the Upanishads in question have been probably composed in later times, since the introduction of the worship of Rama & Gopala. <HN XXIX p. 237>

I suppose both heroes to have been known caracters in ancient fabulous history; but conjecture, that, on the same basis, new fables have been erected, etc. voting those personages to the rank of gods. So Chrishna, son of Devacy, is mentiond in an Upanishad as receiving theological information from Gna.

p 497. The ancient dialect, in which the Vedas, especially the 3 first, are composed, is extremely difficult & obscure, & is the parent of a more polite & refined language, the classical Sanskrit.

Colebrookes Abhandlung† pp 377–497 dieses Bandes, aus der mehrere Stellen auf dem vorigen Bogen stehn, enthält mehrere Auszüge aus den Vedas, davon ich das Vorzüglichste hersetze.[1]

† on the Vedas

p 421. Aitareya Upanishad; from Rig Veda.

Conf: Oupnek'hat, Vol 2, p 57 seqq

§ 4. Originally this universe was indeed Soul only: nothing else whatsoever existed, active or inactive. He thought: “ I will create worlds.” Thus he created these various worlds; water, light, mortal beings & the waters. That “water” is the region above heaven, which heaven upholds; the atmosphere comprises light; & the regions below are “the waters.”

He thought: “These are indeed worlds. I will create guardians of worlds.” Thus he drew from the waters, & framed an embodied being. † He viewed him, & of that being, so contemplated, the mouth opened as an egg: from the mouth speech issued, from speech fire proceeded. The nostrils spread; from the nostrils breath passed; from breath, air was propagated. <HN XXIX p. 238> The eyes opened: from the eyes a glance sprung; from that glance the sun was produced.

† Purusha, a human form.

Abhängigkeit des Objekts vom Subjekt[2]

[1] English translation: “Colebrooke's treatise [margin note: ‘on the Vedas’] p. 377–497 of this volume, of which several passages are found on the preceding sheet, contains several excerpts from the Vedas, of which I put the most excellent here”.

[2] English translation: “Dependance of the object from the subject”

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The ears dilated: from the ears came hearkening: & from that the regions of space. The skin expanded; from the skin hair rose; from that grew herbs & trees. The breast opened; from the breast mind issued: & from mind, the moon. The navel burst; from the navel came deglutition; from that, death. The generative organ burst; thence flowed productive seed: whence waters drew their origin.

Der Makrokosmus fordert den Mikrokosmus.[1]

These deities being thus framed, fell into this vast ocean: & to Him they came with thirst & hunger: & him they thus addressed: “Grant us a smaller size, wherein abiding we may eat food”. He offered to them the form of a cow: they said: “That is not sufficient for us.” He exhibited to them the form of a horse: they say: “neither that is sufficient for us”. He showed them the human form: they exclaimed: “Well done, ah, wonderfull!” Therefore man alone is pronounced to be “well formed”. <HN XXIX p. 239>

Abhängigkeit des Subjekts vom Objekt.[2]

He bade them occupy their respective places. Fire becoming speech, entered the mouth. Air becoming breath, proceeded to the nostrils. The sun becoming sight, penetrated the eyes. Space became hearing & occupied the ears. Herbs & trees became hair & filled the skin. The moon becoming mind, entered the breast. Death becoming deglutition penetrated the navel; & water became productive seed & occupied the generative organ.

Hunger & thirst addressed him, saying: “Assign us our places”. He replied: “You I distribute among these deities: & I make you participant with them.” Therefore is it that to whatever deity an oblation is offered, hunger & thirst participate with them.

Feuchtigkeit ist die Bedingung alles Lebens.[3]

He reflected: “These are worlds, & regents of worlds: for them I will frame food”. He viewed the waters: from waters, thus contemplated, form issued; & food is form, which was so produced.

<HN XXIX p. 240> Being thus framed, it turn’d away & sought to flee. The primeval man endeavoured to seize it by speech; but could not attain it by his voice: had he by his voice taken it, hunger would be satisfied by naming food.

Even so he attempted by	breathing;	in vain; else hunger would be satisfied by	smelling food
	a glance;		seeing food
	hearing;		hearing food
	touch;		touching food
	thinking;		meditating on food
	the generative organ;		emission.

[1] English translation: “The macrocosm requires the microcosm.”

[2] English translation: “Dependance of the subject from the object.”

[3] English translation: “Humidity is the condition for all life.”

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Lastly he endeavord to catch it by deglutition, & thus he did swallow it: that air, which is so drawn in, seizes food; & that very air is the band of life.

He (the universal soul) reflected: "how can this body exist without me?" He considered by which extremity he should penetrate. He thought: "if without me speech discourse, breath inhale & sight view; if hearing hear, skin feel & mind meditate; if deglutition swallow & the organ of generation perform its functions; then who am I?"

Parting the suture, He penetrated by <HN XXIX p. 241> this route. That opening is called the suture (vidriti) & is the road to beatitude.

Of that soul the places of recreation are 3, & the modes of sleep as many: the right eye, the throat & the heart.

Thus born (as the animating spirit) he discriminated the elements, remarking: "what else but him can I here affirm to exist". And he contemplated this thinking person (Purusha), the vast expanse (Brahme, or the great one), exclaiming: "It have I seen". Therefore is he named It–seeing (Idam-dra): It–seeing is indeed his name: & him, being It–seeing, they call by a remote appellation Indra. For the Gods delight in concealment of their name & privacy.

Nur für das Subjekt des Erkennens ist die Welt.[1]

§ 5 This living principle is first, in man, a fetus, or productive seed, which is the essence drawn from all the members of his body: thus the man nourishes himself within himself. But when he emits it into woman, he procreates that fetus: & such is its first birth. <HN XXIX p. 242> It becomes indentified with the woman; & being such, as is her own body, it does not destroy her. She cherishes his† own self, thus received within her; & as nurturing him, she ought to be cherished by him.†† The woman nourishes that fetus: but he previously cherishes the child, & further does so after its birth. Since he supports the child before & after birth, he cherishes himself: & that, for the perpetual succession of persons; for thus are these persons perpetuated. Such is his second birth.

† the man's

†† the man

This second self becomes his representative for holy acts of religion: & that other self, having fulfilled its obligations, & completed its period of life deceases. Departing hence, he is born again (in some other shape) & such is his third birth.

This was declared by the holy sage: "Within the womb I have recognized all the successive births of these deities. A hundred bodies, like iron chains, hold me down: yet, like a falcon, I swiftly rise." Thus spoke Vamadeva, reposing in the womb: & possessing this intuitive <HN XXIX p. 243> knowledge, he rose, after bursting that corporal confinement; & ascending to the blissfull region of heaven, Swarga) he attained every wish & became immortal. He became immortal.

[1] English translation: "Only for the subject of cognition the world exists."

§ 6 What is this soul? that we may worship him. Which is the soul? is it that by which man sees? by which he hears? by which he smells odours? by which he utters speech? by which he discriminates a pleasant or unpleasant taste? Is it the heart (or understanding) or the mind (or will)? Is it sensation? or power? or discrimination? or comprehension? perception? retention? attention? application? haste (or pain)? or memory? assent? determination? animal action?† wish? desire?

† Asu, the unconscious volition, which occasions an act necessary to the support of life, as breathing &ca.

All those are only various names of apprehension. But this (soul, consisting in the faculty of apprehension) is Brahma; he is Indra; he is (Prajapati) the Lord of creatures: these gods are he, & so are the 5 primary elements, earth, air, the ethereal fluid, water & light. †† These & the same joined with <HN XXIX p. 244> minute objects & other seeds (of existence) & again other beings produced from eggs, & born in wombs, or originating in hot moisture, or springing from plants, whether horses, or kine, or men, or elephants, whatever lives, or walks, or flies, or whatever is immovable (as herbs & trees) all that is the eye of intelligence (Maltauyi). On intellect every thing is founded: the world is the eye of intellect: & intellect is its foundation. Intelligence is (Brahme) the great one.

††Brahma, (in the masculine gender) here denotes, according to the commentators, the intelligent spirit, whose birth was in the mundane egg: from which [illegible remark between lines] is named Hiranyagarbha. Indra is the chief of the gods, or subordinate deities; meaning the elements & planets. Prajápati is the first embodied spirit, called Viraj & described in the preceding part of this extract. The gods are fire & the rest, as stated.

By this (intuitively) intelligent Soul, that sage ascended from the present world to the blissfull region of heaven: & obtaining all his wishes became immortal. He became immortal.

folgt ein Gebet.[1] —

p 438. Viraj is the primeval & universal manifested being: a horse is its emblem, whose head being morning, whose eye the Sun, whose breath air, whose ear the moon &ca. Also the 609 various animals, whose assemblage constitutes an imaginary victim at an Aswamedha (sacrifice) represents the universal being Viraj.

p 439. At the beginning of Vrihadaranyaca (Upanishad)

Nothing existed in this world before the production of mind: this universe was encircled by death eager to devour: for death is the devourer. He framed mind, being desirous to become himself endued with a soul. Conf: Oupnek’hat. Vol. I. P 101. <HN XXIX p. 245>

Out of an Upanishad of the YajurVeda the 4th article ††† of the 3d lecture of the Vrihad aranyaca, is the following description of Viraj.

††† bráhmana

This variety of forms was, before the production of body, soul, bearing a human shape. Next, looking around, that primeval being saw none but himself: & he first said: “I am I”. Therefore his name was “I”: & thence even now, a man, when called first answers: “It is I”, & then declares any other name, which appertains to him.

Conf: Oupnek’hat, Vol 1, p 121.

Since he, being anterior to all this (which seeks supremacy) did consume by fire all sinful (obstacles to his own supremacy) therefore does the man, who knows (this truth) overcome him, who seeks to be before him.

Scheint nicht herzugehören[2]

[1] English translation: “there follows a prayer”

[2] English translation: “Does not seem to belong here”

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He felt dread: & therefore man fears, when alone. But he reflected: "Since nothing exists besides myself, why should I fear?" Thus his terror departed from him: for why should he dread, since terror must be of another?

He felt not delight; & therefore man delights not, when alone. He <HN XXIX p. 246> wished the existence of another: & instantly he became such as is man & woman in mutual embrace. He caused this his own self to fall in twain, & thus became a husband & a wife. Therefore was this body so separated, as it were an imperfect moiety of himself: for so Yajnyawalcya has pronounced it. This blanc therefore is completed by woman. He approached her, & thence were human beings produced.

She reflected doubtingly: "how can he, heaving produced me from himself, (incestuously) approach me? I will now assume a disguise." She became a cow, & the other became a bull, & approached her, & the issue were kind. She was changed into a mare, & he into a stallion: one was turned into a female ass, & the other into a male one: thus did he again approach her, & the one hoofed kind was the offspring. She became a female goat, & he a male one: she was an ewe, & he a ram: thus he approached her, & goats & sheep were the progeny. In this manner <HN XXIX p. 247> did he create every existing pair whatsovever, even to the ants & minutest insects.

Out of the 2d Taittiryaca Upanishad.

YajurVeda.

That, whence all beings are produced: that, by which they live, when born: that, towards which they tend; & that, into which they pass; do thou seek, for that is Brahme.

Der Wille zum Leben ist die Quelle und das Wesen der Dinge.[1]

He thought deeply, & having thus meditated, he knew Ananda (or felicity) to be Brahme: for all these beings are indeed produced from pleasure; when born they live by joy; they tend towards happiness; they pass into felicity.

Out of the AtharvaVeda: the Mundaca Upanishad. 1st section.

Two sorts of science must be distinguish'd: the supreme science & another. This other is the Rig-Veda, the Yajur Veda, Sama Veda, Atharva Veda, the rules of accentuation, the rites of religion, grammar, prosody, astronomy, also the Itihasa & Purana & logic, & the system of moral duties. <HN XXIX p. 248>

[1] English translation: "The will to live is the source and the essence of things."

Das Beste lässt sich nicht lehren.[1]

But the supreme science is that, by which this unperishable (nature) is apprehended: invisible (or imperceptible, as is that nature): not to be seized, nor to be deduced: devoid of colour; destitute of eyes & ears: without hands or feet; yet ever variously pervading all: minute unalterable, & contemplated by the wise for the source of beings.

Die Idee erscheint vielfach in den Individuen.[2]

— As the spider spins, & gathers back (its thread); as plants sprout on the earth; as hairs grow on a living person: so is this universe here produced from the unperishable nature. By contemplation, the vast one germinates; from him food, (or body) is produced; & thence successively breath, mind, real (elements), worlds, & immortality, arising from (good) deeds. The omniscient is profound contemplation, consisting in the knowledge of him, who knows all: & from that, the (manifested) vast one, as well as names, forms, food, proceed: & this is truth. <HN XXIX p. 249>

p 530. The Singalese put Goutama Buddha's death, 542 a.C.n.: & it may be esteem'd deserving credit.

Schopenhauer's Notes to Asiatick Researches, vol. 9

HN XXIX, 249-250. Calcutta edition 1807; London 1st edition 1809.

Borrowed in Dresden from 1816/5/14 until 1816/5/20

p 88. Dharma Raja, the subordinate Menu of his Calpa, was really the Minos of the Greeks: & Crishna or Radhamohana was Rhadamantus: Minos lived 1320 a.C.n.

p 244–322. Mehrere ausführliche Berichte über die heretische Sekte der Jainas.[3]

p 289. The followers of the Vedas, according to the Theology explained in the Vedanta, considering the human soul as a portion of the devine & universal mind, believe, that it is capable of perfect union with the divine essence: & the writers of the Vedanta not only affirm, that this union & identity are attained through a knowledge, as by them taught; but have hinted that by such means the particular soul becomes God, even to the actual attainment of supremacy.

Vrihad Aranyaca Upanishad.

Colebrooke. <HN XXIX, p. 250>

[1] English translation: "The best can not be taught."

[2] English translation: "The idea appears manyfold in individuals."

[3] English translation: "Several detailed accounts about the heretical sect of the Jainas."

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p 291 According to the doctrine of the Jainas the soul is never completely separated from matter, until it obtain a final release from corporeal sufferance, by deification, through a perfect disengagement from good & evil, in the person of a beatified Saint. Intermediately it receives retribution for the benefits or injuries ascribable to it in its actual or precedent state, according to a strict principle of retaliation, receiving pleasure & pain from the same individual, who, in a present or former state, was either benefited or aggrieved.

Mythische Darstellung meiner Lehre, daß der Peiniger u. der Gepeinigte nur in der Erscheinung, durch das princ. individuationis, verschieden sind, an sich aber Eins.[1]

p 296–300 Nachrichten der Griechen von Indien, zusammengestellt.[2]

Rudra u. Mahadew sind Beinamen des Schiwa. Siehe Oupnekhat

p 440 & 411, 412.[3]

[1] English translation: "Mythical presentation of my teaching that the torturer and the tortured are only different in appearance, through the principium individuationis; in themselves they are one."

[2] English translation: "Information about the Greeks of India, arranged."

[3] English translation: "Rudra and Mahadew are alternative names of Shiwa. See Oupnek'hat p. 440 & 411, 412."

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APPENDIX 3: MORRISON'S DICTIONARY PASSAGES IN SCHOPENHAUER'S 1822 EXCERPTS

Robert Morrison: *Dictionary of the Chinese Language*. Macao: East India Company, 1815, vol. 1, part 1

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create a great disturbance." 露丨來 Loo ch'hŭh lae, "To expose; to discover." 露丨馬脚 Loo ch'hŭh ma keŏ, "To discover the horse's hoof;" and 露丨貓爪 Loo ch'hŭh meaou chaou, "To expose the cat's paw." both denote to let the cat out of the bag. 赦丨 Shay ch'hŭh, "To forgive, or remit punishment." 訂丨 T'hing ch'hŭh, "To select from amongst many."

𠙺 A form of the Character 正 Ching. Made by the Empress 武后 Woo-how.

𠙻 Ol. Scrib. 菑 Tsze, see Rad. 艸 Tsaou

𠙼 Ol. Scrib. 甘 Kan, "Sweet."

𠙽 Ol. Scrib. 菑 Tsze, see Rad. 艸 Tsaou.

函 HAN. 𠙾 R. H.

From man in a Mortar. The ancients made holes in the ground to use as mortars. (Lŭh-shoo.) To contain; to infold; to comprehend; the lower part of the mouth withinside; the envelope of a letter; a letter. Armour. A surname. 函容 Han yung, "To contain; capacity to contain." Used also to denote An enlarged and liberal mind; patiently bearing with. 書丨 Shoo han, "A letter." 華丨 Hwa han, or 瑤丨 Yaou han, "Elegant letter," applied to the letter of a correspondent in the language of compliment. 尊丨 Tsun han, "Your honor's letter." 口上曰腭口下曰丨 K'how shang yuĕ k'heŏ, k'how hea yuĕ han, "The upper part of the mouth is called K'heŏ; the lower part is called Han." 太極丨三爲一 Tae-keĭh han san wei yĭh, "The Tae-keĭh, (the First Cause or Deity) contains three constituting one." (Woo-king-choo, 39 vol. 26 page.) The sense given of Tae-keĭh is confirmed by a sentence on the same page, 同一乾坤也以其一神則謂之太極 T'hung yĭh këen kwăn yay, e k'he yĭh Shin, tsĭh wei che Tae-keĭh, "What is collectively denominated the Heavens and the Earth, is, in reference to the inherent Deity, called Tae-keĭh." It must not however be supposed, that all the Commentators speak thus clearly on the subject. In the language of most of them, it is difficult to discover any thiog of that personality which is necessary to the idea of Deity. They seem to speak of some principle of order or governance, denoted by 太極 Tae-keĭh, or 天理 T'hëen le, but in which, distinct personality is not perceived..

丨谷 Han kŭh, The name of a certain Barrier. 丨人 Han jin, "A maker of armour." 孟子曰矢人豈不仁於丨人哉矢人惟恐不傷人丨人惟恐傷人巫匠亦然故術不可不慎也 Mang-tsze yuĕ, She jin k'he pŭh jin yu han jin tsae? She jin wei kung pŭh shang jin; han jin wei king shang jin; woo tseang yĭh jen; koo shŭh pŭh k'ho pŭh shin yay. "Mencius said, Is not the maker of darts more wanting in benevolence than the maker of armour? The dart-maker is ooly apprehensive that people should not be wounded; the armour-maker is particularly afraid lest they should. The same holds true of the

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手勿｜ Yen k'han, show wŭh t'hung, "You may look at it, but not move it with your hand." 他的性情好｜ T'ha tĕïh sing tsing haou t'hung, "He is of a restless disposition." ｜手就要賠錢 T'hung show tsew yaou pei ts'hĕen, "If he moves his hand, he is sure to have something to pay for;" i. e. He spoils every thing he puts his hand to. 聖天子至誠｜天 Shing T'hĕen-tsze, che chĭng t'hung t'hĕen, "Holy Son of heaven (or Emperor), whose supreme integrity moves heaven" to notice and reward it. 昂然不｜ Gang jen pŭh t'hung, "A lofty motionless air," said of a person. 搖｜ Yaou t'hung, "To shake; to agitate." 運｜ Yun t'hung, "To revolve in a circle." 日月運｜ Jĭh yuĕ yun t'hung, "The sun and moon revolving in their orbits." 感｜ Kan t'hung, "Internal excitation; influencing the mind, or moving the passions." 驚｜ King t'hung, "To disturb." 不敢驚｜ Pŭh kan king t'hung, "Dare not disturb you;" a common expression in the language of courtesy; as is also, 有驚｜ Yew king t'hung, "I am annoying you." ｜不｜ T'hung pŭh t'hung, "Moving not moving;" i. e. on every occasion, whether in motion or at rest, with or without cause, doing a thing; incessantly 震｜ Chin t'hung, "The shaking caused by an earthquake or thunder." 行｜ Hing t'hung, or 舉｜ Keu t'hung, "A person's behaviour or conduct." 觀人之行｜如何則知其心之善惡矣 Kwan jin che hing t'hung joo ho, tsĭh che k'he sin che shen gŏ e, "Observe what a person's conduct is, and it will be known whether his heart be virtuous or vicious." 如舉｜之間不端端正正的便爲不孝了 Joo keu t'hung che kĕen, pŭh twan twan, ching ching tĕïh, p'hĕen wei pŭh heaou leaou, "If in your conduct you be irregular, you (disgrace your parents and) hence are undutiful." 振｜拜也 Chin-t'hung, pae yay, "Chin-t'hung, denotes saluting" by striking the hands against each other, said to be the present manner of 倭人 Wŏ jin, the Japanese. 響｜ Heang t'hung, "Noise; sound;" motion being necessary to cause sound.

The words 動 T'hung and 靜 Tsing, "Motion and rest," enter essentially into the Chinese Cosmogony. 天地之間。只有｜靜兩端循環不已。更無餘事。此之謂易而其｜其靜。則必有所以｜靜之理。是則所謂太極者也 "In nature, there are only the two states of motion and rest, revolving in uninterrupted succession: exclusive of these there is no operation. These (changes) are called 易 Yĭh, (the subject of the Yĭh-king Classic.) But motion and rest, must have a 理 Le, or Principle of order, which causes motion and rest: this is that which is called 太極 Tae-keïh, or The first moving cause."—We add, this first moving cause is the Deity, an incomprehensibly great, wise, good, and powerful Being; whose existence and perfections are declared by his works. The Philosophical Sect of the Chinese scarcely draws this natural inference. The 所以動靜之理 Principle which causes motion and rest, does not seem, in their apprehension, what we express

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by Deity. They say, 太極本無極 Tae-keih un Woo-keih, "The Extreme limit, or first moving cause, originates in Woo-keih, in that which is illimitable or infinite."

As the Characters which enter into the Theory are of constant occurrence, I will here briefly state it. 太極之動而陽。靜而陰也 "The first principle, in motion, is denominated Yang; at rest, is denominated Yin." Motion and rest blend or operate, and so produce Fire, water, wood, metal, earth. 水而木。木而火。火而土。土而金。金而復水如環無端 "From water is wood, from wood fire, from fire earth, from earth metal, and from metal again comes water, thus the elements revolve as in a circle." 坤道成女乾道成男則萬物化生 "Earth being constituted the female energy, and Heaven the male, all creatures (animal and vegetable, men and spirits) were produced," and are continued in uninterrupted succession. From the infinitely various combination of creatures and circumstances proceed virtue and vice, happiness and misery. 惟聖人者又得夫秀之精一。而有以全乎 " Only the Sages obtain (or are formed of) the most refined and pure materials in nature; and are, thereby, enabled to remain perfect." Heaven, the gods, men, and sages, are from the purest matter; earth, brutes, demons, and the wicked, are partakers of an undue proportion of grosser matter. In the 性理大全 Sing-le-ta-tsuen, from which the above is extracted, there are diagrams representing the Tae-keih, the Yin, the Yang, and so on.

The most that can be said of this system is, that it is not more absurd than some others which the Western World has produced. To suppose some 理 Le, or Principle of order (directing the combinations of matter) though denied personality and intelligence, is not more senseless than the supposition of a fortuitous concourse of Atoms. It is perhaps impossible, however, to free it from the charge of Atheism; for though, in it, gods are admitted, they are considered as beginning to exist, and as inferior to Nature.

勖 HEŬH.§ 勖 S. C. [illegible] R. H.

To excite to diligent endeavour; to stimulate to exertion. 以勖寡人 E heŭh kwa jin, "To stimulate the man of little virtue," by which the person speaking means himself. 丨哉夫子 Heŭh tsae foo tsze, "Exert yourselves, ye men." (Shoo-king.)

勗 An erroneous form of the preceding.

勘 K'HAN.§ 勘 S. C.

To investigate strictly, in order to arrive at absolute certainty; to judge; to try a criminal. To be able for, or adequate to. 磨勘 Mo k'han, "To rub or grind and investigate;" i. e. to employ strenuous effort to ascertain the fact. 丨斷 K'han twan, "To inquire and decide" 本府出都查丨事件 Pun foo ch'hŭh too, cha k'han sze këen, "I, the Che-foo, am going out of town, to examine into an affair."

[illegible] Same as 勗 Heŭh, see above.

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孟子曰口之於味也目之於色也耳之於聲也鼻之於臭也四肢之於安丨也性也有命焉君子不謂性也 Măng-tsze yuĕ, K'how che yu wei yay; mŭh che yu shĭh yay; urh che yu shing yay; pe che yu chow yay; sze che che yu gan yĭh yay; sing yay; yew ming yen; keun tsze pŭh wei sing yay. "Măng-tsze said, The mouth delights in tastes; the eye in colors; the ear in sounds; the nose in fragrance. All the members of the body delight in ease and indulgence; this is nature:—but there is also a decree (of heaven limiting these desires) and the good man does not cry out 'It is natural,' and so give himself up to unrestrained indulgence." (Măng-tsze.)

遺丨而不怨 E yĭh urh pŭh yuen. "Left to domestic privacy (by his Prince) without feeling chagrined." (Măng-tsze.) 惟予一人有丨罰 Wei yu yĭh yin yew yĭh fă. "Only I (the Emperor) have neglected to punish." 一人 Yĭh jin. "The one man;" the man who stands alone, denotes the Emperor.

It occurs that 失 Shĭh, is used in the sense of Yĭh. Also read, Tëĕ. 丨蕩 Tëĕ t'hang. "Slow; easy; careless." Occurs in the sense of 遞 Tëĕ, and of 迭 Te, "One after, or in place of another;" and of 佾 Yĭh. "Arranged in ranks."

佛 FŬH. § 㣹 S. C. 仏 R. H.

To see indistinctly; to examine; to turn aside. Unreasonable. A bright appearance; great. Forms part of the names of places. A surname. The Founder of a religious Sect, by Europeans, commonly called Fo, or Foĕ, now worshipped as a god. In this last application of the word, it is said to denote "Awakening and enlightening mankind." 仿佛若夢 Fang fŭh jŏ mung. "Seen indistinctly as in a dream." 獻鳥者丨其首 Hëen neaou chay fŭh ke show. "He who presents a bird, should turn aside its head," that it may not bite the person to whom it is presented. (Le-king.) 其施之也悖其求之也丨 Ke she che yay pei; ke kew che yay fŭh. "The instruction which is given being contrary to reason; the questions asked by the scholar, are also contrary to reason." (Le-king.) 丨乎正 Fŭh hoo ching. "Contrary to what is right;" in which sense it is Syn. with 拂 Fŭh.

丨桑 Fŭh sang. The name of a plant. 丨手 Fŭh show. "The hand of (the god) Fŭh;" i. e. the Chinese Citron, from its resemblance to a hand. 丨佗 Fŭh to, or 阿彌陀丨 O me to Fŭh. An epithet of the god Fŭh. 三寶丨 San paou Fŭh. "Three precious Fŭh." (See under the character 三 San.)

丨教 Fŭh keaou, or 丨門 Fŭh mun. "The religion of Fŭh." 丨法 Fŭh fă. "Laws of Fŭh," sometimes means the religion or doctrines of Fŭh generally; at other times, certain enigmatical sayings delivered by Fŭh; also the powers or means of operating possessed by Fŭh. 丨法無邊 Fŭh fă woo pëen. "The powers of Fŭh are unlimited."

無能退敵今勞丨駕相助何幸如之 Woo năng tuy teĭh kin laou Fŭh kea seang tsoo ho hing joo che. "Unable to drive back the enemy

but for the assistance for which we have now troubled Fŭh. What happiness equal to ours!" 現在丨 Hëen tsae Fŭh. "The present Fŭh;" i.e. he who now presides over the world. 過去丨 Kwo k'heu Fŭh. "The past Fŭh;" i.e. he whose rule is past. 將來丨 Tseang lae Fŭh. "The Fŭh who is to come."

A boy in a temple, was playfully asked by the Emperor, Yung-ching, which god he should worship? The boy replied, 現在丨不拜過去丨 Hëen tsae Fŭh, pŭh pae kwo k'heu Fŭh. "The god Fŭh now present, does not worship him whose reign is past." This saying, is remembered and considered, as a ready piece of flattery, by which the Emperor was complimented as being himself equal to a god. 丨化有緣人 Fŭh hwa yew yuen jin. "Fŭh influences those in whom there is some (secret) connecting cause," arising from the character of the persons in a former state of existence, &c.

The author of Ching-tsze-t'hung states, that the religion of Fŭh, entered China during the seventh year of the reign of the Emperor 明 Ming, of the Dynasty 漢 Han, about A. D. 50. The Compilers of Kang-he's Dictionary deny this, and say, that some of the 沙門 Sha mun, or priests of Fŭh, came to China during the Dynasty 晉 Tsin. 始皇 Che hwang, the first Emperor of that Dynasty, who reigned about 250 years B. C. imprisoned those priests on account of their being foreigners; but, it is said, a golden man broke open the prison doors at night. In the time of 武帝 Woo te, (B. C. 150 years) an image of Fŭh was obtained, and the 丨像 Fŭh seang, "Images of Fŭh," of the present day, are according to that model. They allow, however, that it was during the reign of the Emperor 明 Ming, that the religion of Fŭh entered China more effectually; and that the occasion of it was, a dream of the Emperor's, in which he saw a golden man flying about the palace.

Confucius said, 西方之人有聖者 Se fang che jin yew shing chay. "There are Sages amongst the the people of the west." This sentence has been erroneously quoted, as bearing direct testimony to Fŭh. (Kang-he.)

Read Peïh, To assist. Also, 丨仡 Peïh yïh. "Strong, robust appearance." A surname. To rhyme, read Fe.

作 TSŎ.§ 㑅 S. C. 𠆩 R. H.

To arise. From man and sudden. (Shwŏ-wăn.) To act; to make; to do. To begin; to discover; to invent. To arouse; to stimulate. A surname. 聖人作萬物覩 Shing jin tsŏ, wan wŭh too. "When Sages arise, all nature looks on them with advantage." (Yïh-king.) 振丨 Chin tsŏ. "To excite; to stimulate." 發丨 Fă tsŏ. "To sprout out again; to commence; to set in motion again; to relapse, after apparent recovery from sickness." 丨新民 Tsŏ sin min. "To arouse or stimulate a people to a complete renovation of their conduct." 知禮樂之情者能丨丨者之謂聖 Che le yŏh che tsing chay năng tsŏ; tsŏ chay che wei Shing. "Those who understand the nature or principles of propriety and harmony, are able to discover or frame the rules; those who frame them, are called Shing-jin, or Sages." 不求非分不丨非爲 Pŭh k'hew fe

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Grief, sorrow. Also read E. To rhyme, read She. 丨 臍何及 She tse ho keĭh, Wishing to gnaw the umbilical cord, how can you reach it. Often used in proclamations to intimidate and warn the people by assuring them that after they have violated the laws, a wish to undo what they have done, will be impracticable. 若不早圖後君丨臍 Jŏ pŭh tsaou too how keun she tse, 'If you do not speedily destroy him, afterwards you will (find it impracticable as an attempt to) eat your own bowels. (Tso-chuen.) 養惡人如養虎.當飽其肉不飽則丨 Yang gŏ jin joo yang hoo; tang paou k'he jow, pŭh paou, tsĭh she, Supporting a bad man is like feeding a tiger; you must satiate his appetite; if he be not satiated, he'll devour you. 丨臍 She-tse, Expresses the state of any person who has lost irrecoverably an opportunity of doing a thing. 相吞丨 Seang t'hun she, Mutually to devour each other.

噭 PEW. The spotted colours of a tiger.

噝 SĬH. An angry tone of reprehension.

嚡 HEUĔ. The sound made by expelling the breath; or clearing the throat

嶲 TSUY. The beak of a bird; to peck.

嚗 P'HAOU. The same as 咆 P'haou, see under 5 str.

噗 The vulgar form of 喋 T'hēē, see 10 str.

噭 KEAOU. 噭 噭

The mouth, used as a numeral of horses. To call out loudly and vehemently. To weep excessively without noise, was expressed by 噭咷 Keaou-teaou, in the state 楚 Tsoo.

To cry and weep. Read Keĭh, The sound of some instrument; and, according to one old Dictionary, To eat. 毋側聽毋丨應.毋淫視.毋怠荒 Woo tsĭh ting; woo keaou ying; woo yin she; woo tae hwang, Do not bend the head sideways to listen; do not answer in a loud vehement tone; do not stare about; do not carry yourself in a careless lounging manner. (Le-king.) 丨然而哭 Keaou jen urh k'hŭh, Cried and wept. 馬二千丨 Ma urh ts'hëen keaou, Two thousand horses. 丨嘑 Keaou-hoo, To call out. 鳴丨之聲興而士奮 Keaou keĭh che shing hing, urh sze fun, When the sound of the instruments strike up, the men rush forward.

嚧 LOO.

嚧丨 Loo-loo, A vulgar cry after pigs, used in the state 吳 Woo.

嚡 HWA. A large mouthed earthen vessel.

嚍 CH'HOO.

To speak to a person in the tone of reprehension or abuse.

噯 GAE, or Ae. Warm air or breath. A belching forth disapprobation, or reprobation; to belch. 噯喲 Ae-yŏ, is a vulgar exclamation expressive of surprize or anger. 氣的丨了一聲說不出話來 K'he teĭh, gae leaou yĭh shing, shwŏ pŭh ch'hŭh hwa lae, In a passion cried out Gae, but could not articulate any thing distinctly.

嚍 HEĂ, or Ho. The sound of laughter; loud laughter; the tone of reprehension.

嚨 YUNG. 嚨 R. H.

The voice or note of a bird. 嚨丨 Yung yung, The harmonious notes of birds. The sound of musical instruments. A kind of stoppage or interruption of the breath. To rhyme,

around him; hence its usual meaning, That which induces effects or consequences. A cause; because; for the sake of; on account of: the circumstance from which; to influence or engage to do; to rest or lean upon; to continue as before, to conform to what exists. A surname. To rhyme, read Yen. Occurs denoting, To disperse. 事非無因 Sze fei woo yin, The affair is not without a cause. 爲何丨 Wei ho yin, For what cause? 丨甚事 Yin shin sze, Because of what affair? 丨爲他來得遲所以駡他 Yin wei t'ha lae tih che, so-e ma t'ha, Because he came late, therefore gave him a scolding. This mode of expression is usual, 丨 Yin, Because, in the first member of the sentence; and 所以 So-e, or 故 Koo, Therefore, in the beginning of the next member. 丨他不來故此我不喜歡 Yin t'ha pùh lae, koo tsze, wo pùh he-hwan, Because he did not come, (therefore) I was displeased. 丨何緣由 Yin ho yuen yew, For what reason? because of what original circumstances. 丨此之故 Yin tsze che koo, For this reason; for this cause. 煩腦皆因強出頭 Fan naou, keae yin keang ch'hùh t'how, Trouble and vexation all arise from violently pushing out one's head; i. e. from being too forward to interfere or attract notice. 丨以爲利 Yin e wei le, For the sake of gain. 殷丨於夏禮 Yin yin yu Hea le, The dynasty Yin continued in the great principles of propriety observed by the dynasty Hea. 周丨於殷禮 Chow yin yu Yin le, The dynasty Chow, continued in the observances of Yin. 三代相繼皆丨之而不能變 San tae seang ke, keae yin che urh pùh năng pëen, The three Dynasties succeeded each other, and all continued (the le or moral principles) unable to change them. (Lun-yu.) 丨循. 丨仍. 丨其故之謂也 Yin-seun, Yin-jing, yin k'he koo che wei yay, The phrases Yin-seun and Yin-jing, express continuing the old state of things. (Lùh-shoo.) Yin-seun, often occurs in the Peking Gazettes denoting remissness, negligence, letting things go on in any way without paying attention to them. 爲高必丨丘陵爲下必丨川澤. 爲政不丨先王之道. 可謂智乎 He who would raise any thing high, must avail himself of existing hills and mountains; he who descends low, must avail himself of existing low lands and beds of rivers,—and can he be called wise who would rule the Empire without availing himself of the existing principles of the ancient kings. (Măng-tsze.) By thus, 丨之 Yin che, Availing one's self of what previously existed; it is added, 用力少而成功多矣 One effects much with little labour. 厥民丨 Keuě min yin, The people were more and more dispersed. (Shoo-king.) 丨天事天丨地事地 Yin t'hëen sze t'hëen; yin te sze te, Conformably to the height of Heaven, worship (or sacrifice to) it on a higher place or altar: conformably to earth, being lower, sacrifice to it on a lower place. (Le-king.) 丨不失其親亦可宗也 Yin, pùh shĭh k'he ts'hin, yĭh k'ho tsung yay, In depending on any one, do not miss in respect of a person worthy of being nearly related to, and who also may be worthy of being regarded as a master. 時子丨陳子而以告孟子 She-tsze yin Chin-tsze urh e kaou Măng-tsze; She-tsze engaged (or employed) Chin-tsze to mention these circumstances to Măng-tsze. 無丨 Woo yin, No apparent source; place or cause from which a thing proceeds. 欲知前世丨今生受者是欲知後世丨今生作者是 Yŏ che tsëen she yin, kin săng show chay she; yŏ che how she yin, kin săng tsŏ chay she, He who desires to know what he was in a former state of existence, may infer it from what he receives now; he who wishes to know what he will be in a future state, may ascertain it from his present actions. Occurs in the sense of 姻 Yin, Marriage.

囪 YAOU. The name of a divinity.

囲 CHWANG. An open aperture, like a window.

囡 Same as 囝 Neĭh, see above.

APPENDIX 4: NOTES AND EXCERPTS FROM DESHAUTERAYES (1826)

Schopenhauer's notes in the Foliant II notebook (Schopenhauer 1985:3.305-6)

Im 7ten Band des *Journal Asiatique* Paris 1825 steht eine ziemlich ausführliche und überaus schöne Darstellung des Lebens und der esoterischen Lehre des *Fo* oder *Budda*, oder Schige-Muni, Schakia-Muni, welche wundervoll übereinstimmt mit meinem System. Im 8ten Band steht als Fortsetzung die exoterische Lehre, die aber ganz mythologisch und viel weniger interessant ist. Beides von *Deshauterayes* gestorben 1795.

z. B. Vol: 7. p. 171

De mes yeux de Fo je considère tous les êtres intelligibles des 3 mondes: la nature est en moi, & par elle-même libre & dégagée de tous liens : je cherche quelque chose de réel parmi tous les mondes, mais je n'y peux rien trouver : & comme j'ai posé la racine dans le néant[1], aussi le tronc, les branches & les feuilles sont entièrement anéantis : ainsi lorsque quelqu'un est délivré ou dégagé de l'ignorance, dès-lors il est

English translation (Urs App)

In the seventh volume of the *Journal Asiatique* Paris 1825 there is a fairly detailed and exceedingly beautiful description of the life and esoteric doctrine of *Fo* or Buddha, or Shige-Muni, Shakia-Muni, which agrees wonderfully with my system. The eighth volume features as a continuation the exoteric doctrine, but this is wholly mythological and much less interesting. Both are by *Deshauterayes* who died in 1795.

E. g. Vol. 7. p. 171

With my Buddha-eyes I consider all perceptible beings of the three worlds; nature is in me, and it is by itself unencumbered and free of all bonds: I look for something real in all three worlds but cannot find anything; and because I have put my root into nothing,[2] also the trunk, the branches and the leaves are totally annihilated: so as soon as someone is freed or liberated from ignorance, he is also liberated from old age

[1] (Schopenhauer's note in the margins:) Ich hab meine Wurzel ins Nichts geschlagen.

[2] Urs App: In this note Schopenhauer simply adds his German translation of Deshauterayes's *j'ai posé la racine dans le néant,* which he regarded as important and underlined.

délivré de la vieillesse et de la mort.

and death.

p. 233. De toute éternité, l'inclination au bien, ainsi que l'amour, la cupidité & la concupiscence (Fleischeslust), se trouvent naturellement dans tout ce qui prend naissance. De là vient la transmigration des âmes. Tout ce qui <305> naît, de quelque manière qu'il naisse, soit de l'œuf, on du sein maternel, ou de la pourriture, ou par transformation, tire sa nature & sa vie de la concupiscence, à laquelle la cupidité porte l'amour : ainsi c'est de l'amour que la transmigration des âmes tire son origine.

From all eternity, the inclination to good as well as love, cupidity and concupiscence are found naturally in everything that is born. From this comes the transmigration of souls. Everything that <305> is born, in whatever way this happens—from an egg, a mother's bosom, from rot, or from transformation—takes its nature and its life from the concupiscence to which cupidity leads love; so it is in love that the transmigration of souls has its origin.

L'amour, excité par les cupidités de tout genre qui l'induisent à concupiscence, est la cause de ce que la vie et la mort se succèdent tour à tour par la voie de la transmigration. De l'amour vient la concupiscence, et de la concupiscence la vie. Tous les êtres vivants, en aimant la vie, en aiment aussi l'origine. L'amour induit à concupiscence est la cause de la vie : l'amour de la vie en est l'effet, etc. —

Excited by cupidities of all kinds that lead it to concupiscence, love is the cause of the continuous succession of life and death by way of transmigration. From love comes concupiscence, and from concupiscence comes life. All living beings, by loving life, also love its origin. Love induced to concupiscence is the cause of life; love of life is its effect, etc. —

pag: 242 . . . Ces trois sectes[3] s'accordent toutes en ce principe que toutes choses ne

pag: 242 . . . These three sects[5] all agree about the principle that all things are but

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[3] (Schopenhauer's note in the margins:) En Chine, savoir les bonces Hochang, (sectateurs de Fo), les bonces Taossee & les philosophes. —

[5] (Schopenhauer's note in the margins:) In China, that is to say, the *hochang* bonzes (sectarians of Fo), the

sont qu'un, c'est à dire que comme la matière première, de même leurs formes ne sont que des parties de l'âme universelle, qui fait la nature, & qui au fond n'est point réellement distincte de la matière.[4]

one, that is to say, that as with primary matter, their forms are only parts of the universal soul which makes up nature and which at bottom is not at all truly distinct from matter.[6]

Taoist bonzes, and the philosophers.

[4] (Schopenhauer's note in the margins:) Viel sehr Lesenswerthes über den *Buddhaismus* hat *Abel-Rémusat, Mélanges Asiatiques* Vol: 1. 1825.

[6] (Schopenhauer's note in the margins:) Much that is worth reading about *Buddhism* is found in *Abel-Rémusat, Mélanges Asiatiques* Vol: 1. 1825. —

APPENDIX 5: THE CHINESE COSMOLOGY ARTICLE (ASIATIC JOURNAL, 1826)

CHINESE THEORY OF THE CREATION.

THERE does not appear to prevail in China any uniform, generally acknowledged, or consistent opinions respecting the origin of the material world. So far as we can judge from the fragments which Chinese scholars have translated from the works of the philosophers of that country, this is a subject which is still open to the excursive speculations of its writers, who seem to indulge whatsoever imaginations present themselves, and to pursue them to the verge of absurdity.

This incertitude upon a point so important is remarkable, especially amongst a people somewhat addicted to recondite and metaphysical inquiries, who boast of the extent of their learning, and who are celebrated for their precision and systematic exactness in matters of trivial moment. In whatsoever relates to their history, their laws, their politics, their language, their ceremonies, their social and domestic economy, they display even an ostentation of system. The ancient writers of China would have incurred as little labour in framing a theory of cosmogony, as in composing the fabulous details of the early events of its history: there would have been greater scope for the exercise of invention in the former than in the latter, and less hazard of detection, or of provoking the doubt and incredulity of mankind. One might be inclined to venture a suspicion, therefore, that the system of cosmogony heretofore admitted in China, and its original religion, whatever it may have been, as they were essentially and closely connected, have shared the same fate, and that both have perished together.

The vagueness of Chinese notions respecting the creation of the world is demonstrated even by the terms they employ when speaking of the various subjects and things connected therewith. The word *t'hëen*, or *tëen*, compounded of the character *great*, surmounted by a horizontal line, would seem to denote *the highest of the great*, or, *above all which is great on earth:* but in practice its vagueness of signification is beyond all comparison greater than that of the term *heaven* in European languages, which is often employed, by an abuse of metaphor, in such a manner that it is difficult to divine whether the person who uses it be a theist or an atheist. But the latitude in which the Chinese indulge is far more extensive: it is seldom that a reader can conjecture, from the use of this term by a Chinese philosophical writer, whether the latter means a supreme intelligent being, or the material heavens, *i. e.* the sky. One of their most esteemed writers, Choo-foo-tze,* tells us, indeed, that "to affirm that heaven has *a man* (i. e. *a sapient being*) there to judge and determine crimes, should not by any means be said; nor, on the other hand, must it be affirmed that there is nothing at all to exercise a supreme control over these things."

The same writer, upon being asked whether the "heart of heaven" was intelligent or not, or whether heaven was merely a vast, inert expanse, answered: "It must not be said that the mind of nature is unintelligent; but it does not resemble the cogitations of man."

The active agency of an omnipotent power seems to be denoted among the Chinese by the expression "principle of order;" but what this principle is it would be difficult to ascertain from the vague and unsatisfactory definitions given of it by different writers. *Tëen-taou*, "the ways of heaven," implies the principle of order, in its operation upon nature; *tëen-ming*, its operation upon man and other living creatures, according to the properties given by nature.

* Dr. Morrison's Chinese Dictionary, in voce Thëen, I. 1, p. 578.

nature. One writer states that this principle of order, which pervades heaven, earth, and all creatures, was antecedent to *tëen*: adding, that "by motion it produced the *yang* principle, and by rest it produced the *yin* principle." This would seem to imply some belief in a great first cause, an intelligent creative being; but when Chinese writers attempt to expound the exact nature of this principle of order, it is evident that they have no intention that it should be thus understood.

Dr. Morrison, in his *Chinese Miscellanies*, has investigated, at some length, this doctrine of the *yang* and *yin* principles (pointing out some imaginary resemblances between it and the theories of European philosophers), and of the *le*, apparently synonymous with *tae-keih*, or the principle of order; though some writers distinguish the *le* from the *tae-keih*. From the passages which this learned Chinese scholar has collected from the writings of the philosophers of China, it is impossible to conceive any distinct or rational idea of what any one of them means by this principle of order, or first cause; and the discordance of their several notions on this subject is extraordinary. It is said to be illimitable, yet to exist in some luminous body; to be outside the *yang* and *yin*, yet to act in the midst of them; it is represented as a circle, yet pronounced indescribable, without figure, voice, smell, shadow, or sound.*

The manner in which the term *tëen* is used might easily mislead, and has misled, Europeans (Dr. Milne, for example) into a belief that the Chinese entertain rational notions upon this subject. Thus, according to one of their authorities, "*Tëen* is called ruler, or sovereign (*choo*), from the idea of supreme control;" and another expresses himself thus: "Had heaven (*tëen*) no designing mind, then it must happen that the cow might bring forth a horse, and on the peach-tree be produced the blossoms of the pear." On the other hand, it is said, that the mind of heaven is deducible from what is the will of mankind!

It is to be remarked that the Chinese followers of Mahomet do not use the word *tëen* to express the deity; but that of *choo*, lord, or sovereign, which occurs in one of the preceding quotations.

The Chinese pay great regard to a being whom they call Tëen-how, the queen of heaven; or, in a more respectful style, Tëen-how-neang-neang, which may be rendered, "her ladyship the queen of heaven." This personage, it appears, was a woman named Lin, who was born in the province of Fŭh-këen, or Fo-kien, about A.D. 811. Her legend is as follows: Her parents were seafaring people; at five years of age she learned to recite the prayers addressed to the goddess Kwan-yin, and at an early period she made a solemn vow never to marry. She is said to have fallen into a sort of trance, or to have left the body during a gale of wind, for the purpose of saving her two brothers; but her parents hastily called her back, which awoke her; whereby she failed in saving the eldest of the brothers, who was drowned. She died, or, as the Chinese writers express it, she ascended; and was translated A.D. 871. She became the patroness of pregnant women, and occasionally assisted at their labours in person, like the Juno Lucina of the Romans. During the Sung dynasty, a posthumous title was conferred on this personage, who was created *her ladyship the queen of heaven, defender of the country, and protector of the people.*†

With such vague and indistinct notions respecting the author of creation, it is not surprising that the conjectures of Chinese writers on the work of creation itself should be wild and incoherent. On this point one of them thus expresses his individual opinion: "I think that when heaven and earth were yet

* See *Asiat. Journ.*, vol. xx, pp. 313—316.
† Dr. Morrison's Chinese Dictionary, *in voce* T'hëen, l. 1, p. 580.

yet in a chaotic state, previously to their being separated, there existed only two elements; *fire*, or the matter of heat, and *water;* and that the sediment at the bottom of the water became the earth. Even now, when we ascend an eminence, and look round to a distance, the groups of hills have the exact appearance of waves, which arose from the water being agitated: but the period at which the concretion took place is not known. The mass was at first soft, and by cohesion afterwards became hard.

"I suppose the effect was produced in a similar manner to that in which the tides drive up the sand of the sea?

"No doubt. The impurer parts of the water became earth; whilst those parts of the matter of heat which were most pure became wind and sleet, and hail, and thunder and lightning, and the sun and the stars, and the rest."

The same writer imagines the earth to be kept in its place by the incessant rotary motion of the heavens; and he adds, "the production of creatures resembles the middle part of the mill, from whence are thrown out both coarse and fine materials!"

The creation of animals is thus related by Chinese authors, who herein discover an obscure allusion to the Mosaical account: "At the creation of heaven and earth, on the first day, fowls were produced; on the second, dogs; on the third, swine; on the fourth, sheep; on the fifth, cows; on the sixth, horses; on the seventh, man; on the eighth, grain." Hence the Chinese now consider the seventh day of the first month of the year *man's day;* and on that day, as well as on the following, no Chinese will sweep the house: the reason given for which is, that it might otherwise be supposed he was desirous of sweeping man and his food to destruction!* This motive is plainly not the genuine and original cause of the custom. This strange people are anxious to assign a ground for every minute article of their economy, and they are little scrupulous about its reasonableness.

The creation of man is explained by an hypothesis not a whit less absurd than that which accounts for the origin of the universe. We are told, that when the *yang* and the *yin* (the active and the quiescent principles, which, we have before seen, resulted from the *principle of order*), and the five elements, intermingled in the centre of the universe, where moisture and heat mutually operated upon each other, a man was produced. "This man was by nature intelligent. As he gazed upon the heavens, he saw, darting forth from a star, and falling to the earth, a blaze of golden light. In approaching it, he found it to be an animated being, which he supposed was of the same species with himself. This being addressed him, saying, 'The wings have long embraced you; on the breaking forth of the fructifying principle, I knew you had entered into the world.' Then plucking up certain plants, he formed garments for the lower part of the body. He named the man Hwang-laou (yellow old man), and informed him of the manner of creation; of the division of the heavens and the earth; the *yin* and *yang;* the separation of the darkness from the light, &c.; that all things were produced from an egg, first formed in water; that there were four other human beings formed, one at each of the four points of the compass. Having said this, the being called Kin-sĭh-jin (man of the golden city) disappeared, and the four persons referred to flew to the spot, each from a different quarter. The man first formed, called Shwŭy-tsing-tsze,† came from the north; the second, named Chĭh-tsing-tsze,‡ came from the south; the third, Mŭh-kung,§ from

* Dr. Morrison's Chinese Dictionary, *in voce* T'hëen. l. 1, p. 579.

† This name seems to signify *son of etherial water.*

‡ *Son of etherial carnation colour.*

§ Muh signifies *wood;* kung, *just.*

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from the east; the fourth person was Kin-moo, "the golden mother," who came from Kwăn-lun-shan (a hill described as a kind of paradise) in the west. It is further said, that these five persons, by a chemical process, obtained, from an immense crucible, a male being, and also a female; the latter of whom was called Shay-neu, "serpent-woman." These, obtaining celestial influence from the sun and moon, produced other human beings, who again united, and gradually filled the earth with people. Hwang-laou directed the dispersion of the first families, and supplied them with rafts to cross the seas and rivers to whatever place the wind might drive them. Pwan-koo, an extraordinary person, whose origin is not known, came from the vast deserts. He was four times taller than other human beings; had horns on his head, and his teeth stood out of his mouth. He taught navigation more perfectly, and made passages through the mountains. All submitted to him, and he became the first king of men."*

Such is the absurd account which Chinese writers give of the creation of the world. It is a more wretched and inartificial representation than we might have expected from a people who have really some pretensions to just notions upon a few subjects, and who vaunt of their intellectual superiority over the "barbarous nations of Christendom!"

* Dr. Morrison's Chinese Dictionary, *in voce Jin*. i. 1, p. 50.

NECROLOGY.

No. XI.

JOHN BRUCE, ESQ.

HISTORIOGRAPHER TO THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY.*

Mr. Bruce was born in the year 1744. He was the representative of the ancient family of Bruce, of Earls Hall, a branch of the illustrious house of that name; and his patrimonial estate of Grange Hill was a portion of a larger estate which his family had acquired by intermarriage with that of the celebrated Kirkaldy of Grange. He received a liberal education at the University of Edinburgh, where he soon distinguished himself by his talents and learning, and was, at an early age, appointed professor of logic. At the same time, during the absence of Dr. Adam Fergusson, he consented, at a very short notice, to teach his class of moral philosophy; and during the greater part of the succeeding winter, in addition to the labour bestowed on his own lectures, he composed in the evening the lecture which he was to deliver in Dr. Fergusson's class the ensuing forenoon.

Upon obtaining a grant of the reversion (conjointly with the late Sir James Hunter Blair) of the patent of King's printer and stationer for Scotland, by the interest of the late Lord Melville, to whom he was distantly related, he resigned his chair at the University. The office did not fall, however, to the reversionists for fifteen or sixteen years afterwards. Lord Melville likewise procured for Mr. Bruce the appointments of Keeper of the State Paper Office, and Historiographer to the East-India Company. Mr. Bruce was for some years a member of Parliament, and held for a short time the post of Secretary to the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India.

By

* Substance of a memoir published in a Scottish paper, and written, as we have reason to think, by a gentleman connected with Mr. Bruce.

APPENDIX 6: MORRISON PASSAGES IN THE CHINESE COSMOLOGY ARTICLE OF 1826

Robert Morrison: *Dictionary of the Chinese Language*. Macao: East India Company, 1815, vol. 1, part 1

大 Ta. 37th Radical. 576

fă 丨悲懺法 rules of prayer to the most merciful goddess Kwan-yin. 1 vol. Ta pei shin chow sin king 丨悲神咒心經 a sacred book for the heart, containing divine prayers to the most merciful. 1 vol. Ta fŭh ting lăng yen chow 丨佛頂楞嚴咒 16 vol. a religious book of the Budh sect. Ta o me to king 丨阿彌陀經 a prayer book of the great Amida Buddha. Ta kin che 丨金志 memoirs of the (Tartar) dynasty. *Kin*, which reigned over the northern part of China during the 13th century. Ta tsing leŭh le 丨清律例 laws of the *Ta-tsing* dynasty, or Penal Code of China, (translated by Sir George Thomas Staunton), 40 vols. Ta tsing hwuy tëen 丨清會典 the statutes or ordinances of the Ta-tsing dynasty, not exclusively of a penal nature like the preceding. Ta tsing yĭh tung che 丨清一統志 240 vols. a complete statistical account of the whole empire of the Ta-tsing dynasty, or Manchow Tartar sovereigns of China. Ta lŭh jin 丨六壬 13 vols. a book on fortune telling.

矢 NËË. The head hanging down inverted.

天 T'HËEN. 𠀘 𠄞

From *a line* placed above *great*; that which is *above* and is *great*. The highest; that which is resident above to rule and keep in subjection the creatures below. HEAVEN is used for THE MATERIAL HEAVENS, *the sky*, and for A SUPREME and *intelligent* POWER which views human actions and thoughts, and which rewards or punishes individuals or nations: for NATURE, as that word is often used in Europe, and seemingly to the exclusion of nature's God. Natural. Name of a star; of a particular divinity; of a public court; of certain music; and of a plant. A surname. Tëen is used as a Verb, To consider or regard as Heaven. Min nae wang so teen 民乃王所丨 the people are considered as heaven by the king. Tëen ta 丨大 as great as heaven. They say, Tëen ta sze, wo pan tĭh lae 丨大事我辦得來 I can manage the affair if it were great as heaven. Tëen ta, te how 丨大地厚 great as heaven and bulky as the earth; denotes, Vast as the universe. Sh ng che san shĭh san tëen: hea che shĭh pĭ tăng te yŏ 上至三十三丨下至十八層地獄 up as high as the thirty-third heavens, and down as low as the eighteenth hell.

Yew hwuy tëen che leĭh 有回丨之力 has power capable of reversing the course of the heavens, said of a person who by his talents recovers some apparently desperate concern. Kwŏ e min wei pun, min e shih wei tëen 閾以民爲本民以食爲丨 to a government or nation, the *people* are fundamentally important, and to the people *food* is their heaven. Tëen fow te tsae 丨覆地載 heaven overspreads, and earth contains.

Tëen often answers to the word *day*, as Kin tëen 今丨 to day. Tsŏ tëen 昨丨 yesterday. Ming tëen 明丨 to-morrow. Tëen tëen 丨丨 daily. Tëen tëen tsae heŏ tang le tŭh shoo 丨丨在學堂裡讀書 was daily in the school or college studying.

Mwan tëen sing tow 滿丨星斗 the whole heavens shining with stars. Tëen ne lew loo 丨倪流露 a development of natural principles or dispositions; referring to those sentiments in favor of virtue which are implanted by Heaven in the human breast; hence, a sense of shame discovered by some persons when detected in vice, is called *Tëen ne lew loo*; the workings of natural conscience in favor of what is good.

Tëen yae 丨涯 the horizon. Ching tëen keang 成丨講 or Kang tëen hwa 講丨話 to talk big; vain empty boasting; lofty but lying pretensions. Tëen-tsze che tsun woo urh 丨子至尊無二 heaven's Son (the Emperor) is supremely honorable and has no second or equal. 丨以丨下之心爲心 古之論丨皆僉以民心卜丨 Heaven makes the mind of mankind its mind; in most ancient discussions respecting heaven, its mind or will was divined from what was the will of mankind; vox populi; vox Dei.

Tëen wan 丨晚 the day drawing towards a close; towards evening. Tëen leang 丨亮 break of day; day light. Tëen 丨河 the river of heaven; the milky way. Tsing tëen p h

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jĭh 清丨白日 clear heavens and bright day;—is often used to denote a well regulated government; a period in which justice is purely administered; and hence, a good local magistrate is called 清丨太爺 Tsing tëen tae yay. Tsang tëen mëĕ leaou wo 蒼丨滅了我 may heaven annihilate me!—a Chinese imprecation; used by people asserting their innocence of an alleged crime.

Tëen săng tei̊h 丨生的 'produced by heaven,' a natural production. Tsang tëen 蒼丨 spring. Haou tëen 昊丨 summer. Min tëen 旻丨 autumn. Shang tëen 上丨 winter. Tëen hwa 丨花 the small pox. Tëen paou chwang 丨泡瘡 a disease of children resembling 水泡 Shwŭy paou, the watery pustule, or blister; perhaps a sort of chicken pox, the skin of the pimple is very thin and unctuous.

Tëen ping 丨平 a balance; the scales are called 銅盆 copper dishes. Tëen wăn 丨文 astronomy. Tëen wăn săng 丨文生 an astronomer. Kin tëen këen 欽丨監 an astronomer appointed by the Emperor of China. Tëen wăn too 丨文圖 a map of the stars.

Tëen taou 丨道 'the ways of heaven;' denote *the principle of order* in its operation on nature. Tëen ming 丨命 its operation on man and other creatures, according to the properties given by nature. Tëen le, leang sin 丨理良心 'heavenly principles and a good heart,' is an expression much used by persons protesting the purity of their motives, or calling on others to act conscientiously.

悠悠蒼丨 Yew yew tsang tëen,
此何人哉 Tsze ho jin tsae?
O ye azure distant heavens;
Who is this man! (who has caused the house of Chow's ruin.)
(She-king.)

Tëen yew san shĭh san tëen, yŭh hwang ta te choo tsae tsing tëen 丨有三十三丨玉皇大帝住在青丨 there are thirty-three heavens; the perfect Imperial great ruler, dwells in the azure heavens.

The following are a few of the moral and metaphysical ideas of the Chinese respecting Heaven.

E-chuen shwŏ, tëen e choo tsae wei che te 義川說丨以主宰謂之帝 *E-chuen* said, heaven is *styled Ruler* or sovereign from the idea of supreme controul. A Chinese writer thus argues against chance, and in favor of an intelligent and designing First Cause. 丨無心則須牛生出馬桃樹上生發李花 had Heaven no designing mind, then it must happen that the cow might bring forth a horse; and on the peach tree be produced the blossoms of the pear.

Another Chinese author thus describes the Mahomedan religion 回回地雖接丨竺而俗與之異不供佛不祭神不拜尸所尊敬者惟一丨字丨之外敬先師孔子而已 although the country of the Mahomedans borders upon India, their customs are different; they do not worship Budh; they do not sacrifice to the gods; they do not worship the manes of their ancestors; that which they honor and reverence, is only the one word *Heaven*; besides Heaven they respect only the ancient teacher Confucius.

The Mahomedans in China themselves however use the word *Choo* 主 Lord, to express the Deity, and not the word Tëen. According to the Sing le ta tseuen 性理大全 1 vol. 5 page, *Heaven* does not appear the supreme intelligence. 太極只是丨地萬物之理.未有丨地之先畢竟先有此理.動而生陽亦只是理.靜而生陰亦只是理 *Tae-keĭh,* is the *Principle of order* pervading heaven, earth, and all creatures; before heaven and earth were in existence, this *principle of order* must have previously existed;—by *motion* it produced the *Yang* principle; and by *rest* it produced the *Yin* principle.

In this quotation, the *Tae-keĭh* is represented as antecedent to *Heaven*; and heaven and earth, or nature, as having had a beginning. The word *Tae-keĭh* denotes *the extreme bound or limit;* the highest point of analysis; the first link of the chain; and in reference to the afore-mentioned *Principle of order*, they use the term *Woo-keĭh* 無極 without an extreme, or utmost limit; i. e. infinite; eternal. Thus in the same page of the above work, 無極者.只是說這道理當初元無一物.只是有此理而已 the term *Woo-keĭh*, expresses that this *reason* or *principle of order*, was at the beginning, when nothing else existed.—There was only this principle of order alone, and nothing else. That by Le 理 or a *principle of order*, they mean something different from

PART I. 5 H

an intelligent being, appears from 朱子全書 the complete works of the Philosopher *Choo-foo-tsze*, vol. 20, page 4. It is there asked what is to be understood by such expressions as this 天祐民 heaven helps the people; 作善丨降百祥作不善降百殃 on the righteous, heaven sends down all blessings; on the unrighteous it sends down every infelicity. Is it, says the enquirer, 是蒼蒼在上者眞有主宰如是耶抑丨無心只是推原其理如此 that the azure heavens above in truth exercise a supreme intelligent controul? or that heaven has no designing mind, only when the subject is pushed up to its origin, it is inferred that the *principle of order*, or *course of things*, is thus.

Choo-foo-tsze elsewhere says very oddly, that to affirm 天有箇人在那裡批判罪惡固不可 that heaven has *a man* there to judge and determine crimes, should not by any means be said; nor on the other hand, must it be affirmed 全無主之者 that there is nothing at all to exercise a supreme controul over these things.

Again, 問丨地之心亦靈否 Question, Is the heart of Heaven and earth (the *mind* of nature) intellectual (and intelligent) or not? 還只是漠然無爲 or is it merely a vast inert inactive expanse? 曰. 丨地之心不可道是不靈 Answer, It must not be said, that the mind of nature is unintelligent. 但不如人恁地思慮 but it does not resemble the cogitations of man.

No Chinese *definition* of Teen 天 raises the idea of it superior to *mere matter*.; their definitions commonly run thus 混沌之氣輕淸者上浮而爲丨重濁者下凝而爲地 of the vapours of Chaos, the lighter and purer ascended and became *heaven*; the heavier and grosser descended, and forming a concrete mass became earth.

A certain *Asiatic* writer, when addressing by letter the Greeks and Romans of Europe, expresses himself to this effect,—"That the *invisible* things of God may be clearly discerned from the things which are made; but man, not liking to retain God in his knowledge, has lost a sure knowledge of the sublime subject; and by his own wisdom comes to no satisfactory conclusions respecting *Him*, whose greatness—is unsearchable, and whose nature is incomprehensible."

However, as the same writer remarked elsewhere, when addressing orally the same learned, but idolatrous Greeks, "God has not left himself without witness amongst the nations; but has done them good, and given them rain from heaven and fruitful seasons—to the end that they should seek the *Lord*, if haply they might feel after him and find him."

The above quotations shew how the philosophers of China have groped as men in the dark, in their reasonings respecting the Deity; but they can scarcely be said to have found *Him*. They have come to this conclusion, that every chain must have a *first* link; every consecutive series must have *a beginning*; every *produced* being, seems to imply *one* original and *unproduced*; but of that Self-existent Cause or Being, they have attained to a very imperfect knowledge.

The *Tëen* 天 of China, is used nearly as the *Heaven* of the western nations; and denotes "The regions above; the expanse of the sky; the habitation of God, good angels, and pure souls departed; it is also used for the supreme power; the sovereign of heaven." (Johnson.) Such is the *popular* use of the word; although several of the Chinese *philosophers* evidently sink into a sort of *Atheistical materialism*.

I shall close these quotations from the Chinese, respecting Nature, or the System of the Universe, with the following paragraphs from *Choo-foo-tsze*. 問. 自開闢以來至今未萬年. 不知已前如何 Question, Since the opening out of the present system of nature up to this time does not extend to ten thousand years—what was the state of things antecedent to that period? 曰. 已前亦須如此一番明白來 Answer, It appears plain that the antecedent system must have been the same as this.

又問. 丨地會壞否 Another question, Is heaven and earth susceptible of being destroyed? 曰不會壞. 只是相將人無道極了便一齊打合混沌一番. 人物都盡. 又重新起 Answer, They are indestructible; but when man arrives at the highest pitch of wickedness, the whole will be struck into a chaotic mass; and men and things be all annihilated; after which they will again be raised up anew. From these passages, it would

力 Leih. IX. Nineteenth Radical. 268

手勿｜ Yen k'han, show wŭh t'hung, "You may look at it, but not move it with your hand." 他的性情好｜ T'ha tëih sing tsing haou t'hung, "He is of a restless disposition." ｜手就要賠錢 T'hung show tsew yaou pei ts'hëen, "If he moves his hand, he is sure to have something to pay for;" i. e. He spoils every thing he puts his hand to. 聖天子至誠｜天 Shing T'hëen-tsze, che ching t'hung t'hëen, "Holy Son of heaven (or Emperor), whose supreme integrity moves heaven" to notice and reward it. 昂然不｜ Gang jen pŭh t'hung, "A lofty motionless air," said of a person. 搖｜ Yaou t'hung, "To shake; to agitate." 運｜ Yun t'hung, "To revolve in a circle." 日月運｜ Jĭh yuĕ yun t'hung, "The sun and moon revolving in their orbits." 感｜ Kan t'hung, "Internal excitation; influencing the mind, or moving the passions." 驚｜ King t'hung, "To disturb." 不敢驚｜ Pŭh kan king t'hung, "Dare not disturb you;" a common expression in the language of courtesy; as is also, 有驚｜ Yew king t'hung, "I am annoying you." ｜不｜ T'hung pŭh t'hung, "Moving not moving;" i. e. on every occasion, whether in motion or at rest, with or without cause, doing a thing; incessantly 震｜ Chin t'hung, "The shaking caused by an earthquake or thunder." 行｜ Hing t'hung, or 舉｜ Keu t'hung, "A person's behaviour or conduct." 觀人之行｜如何則知其心之善惡矣 Kwan jin che hing t'hung joo ho, tsĭh che k'he sin che shen gŏ e, "Observe what a person's conduct is, and it will be known whether his heart be virtuous or vicious." 如舉｜之間不端端正正的便爲不孝了 Joo keu t'hung che këen, pŭh twan twan, ching ching tëih, p'hëen wei pŭh heaou leaou, "If in your conduct you be irregular, you (disgrace your parents and) hence are undutiful." 振｜拜也 Chin-t'hung, pae yay, "Chin-t'hung, denotes saluting" by striking the hands against each other, said to be the present manner of 倭人 Wo jin, the Japanese. 響｜ Heang t'hung, "Noise; sound;" motion being necessary to cause sound.

The words 動 T'hung and 靜 Tsing, "Motion and rest," enter essentially into the Chinese Cosmogony. 天地之間。只有｜靜兩端循環不已。更無餘事。此之謂易而其｜其靜。則必有所以｜靜之理。是則所謂太極者也 "In nature, there are only the two states of motion and rest, revolving in uninterrupted succession: exclusive of these there is no operation. These (changes) are called 易 Yih, (the subject of the Yih-king Classic.) But motion and rest, must have a 理 Le, or Principle of order, which causes motion and rest: this is that which is called 太極 Tae-keih, or The first moving cause."—We add, this first moving cause is the Deity, an incomprehensibly great, wise, good, and powerful Being; whose existence and perfections are declared by his works. The Philosophical Sect of the Chinese scarcely draws this natural inference. The 所以動靜之理 Principle which causes motion and rest, does not seem, in their apprehension, what we express

by Deity. They say, 太極本無極 Tae-keĭh un Woo-keĭh, "The Extreme limit, or first moving cause, originates in Woo-keĭh, in that which is illimitable or infinite."

As the Characters which enter into the Theory are of constant occurrence, I will here briefly state it. 太極之動而陽。靜而陰也 "The first principle, in motion, is denominated Yang; at rest, is denominated Yin." Motion and rest blend or operate, and so produce Fire, water, wood, metal, earth. 水而木。木而火。火而土。土而金。金而復水如環無端 "From water is wood, from wood fire, from fire earth, from earth metal, and from metal again comes water, thus the elements revolve as in a circle." 坤道成女乾道成男則萬物化生 "Earth being constituted the female energy, and Heaven the male, all creatures (animal and vegetable, men and spirits) were produced," and are continued in uninterrupted succession. From the infinitely various combination of creatures and circumstances proceed virtue and vice, happiness and misery. 惟聖人者又得夫秀之精一。而有以全乎 "Only the Sages obtain (or are formed of) the most refined and pure materials in nature; and are, thereby, enabled to remain perfect." Heaven, the gods, men, and sages, are from the purest matter; earth, brutes, demons, and the wicked, are partakers of an undue proportion of grosser matter. In the 性理大全 Sing-le-ta-tsuen, from which the above is extracted, there are diagrams representing the Tae-keĭh, the Yin, the Yang, and so on.

The most that can be said of this system is, that it is not more absurd than some others which the Western World has produced. To suppose some 理 Le, or Principle of order (directing the combinations of matter) though denied personality and intelligence, is not more senseless than the supposition of a fortuitous concourse of Atoms. It is perhaps impossible, however, to free it from the charge of Atheism; for though, in it, gods are admitted, they are considered as beginning to exist, and as inferior to Nature.

勖 HEŬH.§ 勖 S. C. 勖 R. H.

To excite to diligent endeavour; to stimulate to exertion. 以勖寡人 E heŭh kwa jin, "To stimulate the man of little virtue," by which the person speaking means himself. 丨哉夫子 Heŭh tsae foo tsze, "Exert yourselves, ye men." (Shoo-king.)

勗 An erroneous form of the preceding.

勘 K'HAN.§ 勘 S. C.

To investigate strictly, in order to arrive at absolute certainty; to judge; to try a criminal. To be able for, or adequate to. 磨勘 Mo k'han, "To rub or grind and investigate;" i. e. to employ strenuous effort to ascertain the fact. 丨斷 K'han twan, "To inquire and decide" 本府出都查丨事件 Pun foo ch'hŭh too, cha k'han sze këen, "I, the Che-foo, am going out of town, to examine into an affair."

勛 Same as 勗 Heŭh, see above.

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Grief, sorrow. Also read E. To rhyme, read She. 丨臍何及 She tse ho keih, Wishing to gnaw the umbilical cord, how can you reach it. Often used in proclamations to intimidate and warn the people by assuring them that after they have violated the laws, a wish to undo what they have done, will be impracticable. 若不早圖後君丨臍 Jŏ pŭh tsaou too how keun she tse, If you do not speedily destroy him, afterwards you will (find it impracticable as an attempt to) eat your own bowels. (Tso-chuen.) 養惡人如養虎.當飽其肉不飽則丨 Yang gŏ jin joo yang hoo; tang paou k'he jow, pŭh paou, tsĭh she, Supporting a bad man is like feeding a tiger; you must satiate his appetite; if he be not satiated, he'll devour you. 丨臍 She-tse, Expresses the state of any person who has lost irrecoverably an opportunity of doing a thing. 相呑丨 Seang t'hun she, Mutually to devour each other.

噭 PEW. The spotted colours of a tiger.

嘥 SĬH. An angry tone of reprehension.

嘪 HEUĔ.

The sound made by expelling the breath; or clearing the throat

嗺 TSUY. The beak of a bird; to peck.

嘐 P'HAOU. The same as 咆 P'haou, see under 5 str.

嘩 The vulgar form of 喋 T'hëë, see 10 str.

噭 KEAOU. 噭 嘄

The mouth, used as a numeral of horses. To call out loudly and vehemently. To weep excessively without noise, was expressed by 噭咷 Keaou-teaou, in the state 楚 Tsoo.

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To cry and weep. Read Keih, The sound of some instrument; and, according to one old Dictionary, To eat. 毋側聽毋丨應.毋淫視.毋怠荒 Woo tsĭh ting; woo keaou ying; woo yin she; woo tae hwang, Do not bend the head sideways to listen; do not answer in a loud vehement tone; do not stare about; do not carry yourself in a careless lounging manner. (Le-king.) 丨然而哭 Keaou jen urh k'hŭh, Cried and wept. 馬二千丨 Ma urh ts'heen keaou, Two thousand horses. 丨嘑 Keaou-hoo, To call out. 噭丨之聲興而士奮 Keaou keih che shing hing, urh sze fun, When the sound of the instruments strike up, the men rush forward.

嘍 LOO.

嘍丨 Loo-loo, A vulgar cry after pigs, used in the state 吳 Woo.

嘩 HWA. A large mouthed earthen vessel.

嘘 CH'HOO.

To speak to a person in the tone of reprehension or abuse.

噯 GAE, or Ae. Warm air or breath. A belching forth disapprobation, or reprobation; to belch. 噯喲 Ae-yŏ, is a vulgar exclamation expressive of surprize or anger. 氣的丨了一聲說不出話來 K'he teih, gae leaou yĭh shing, shwŏ pŭh ch'hŭh hwa lae, In a passion cried out Gae, but could not articulate any thing distinctly.

嚇 HEĂ, or Ho. The sound of laughter; loud laughter; the tone of reprehension.

噰 YUNG. 噰 R. H.

The voice or note of a bird. 噰丨 Yung yung, The harmonious notes of birds. The sound of musical instruments. A kind of stoppage or interruption of the breath. To rhyme,

Hwuy. 111. 31st Radical. 462

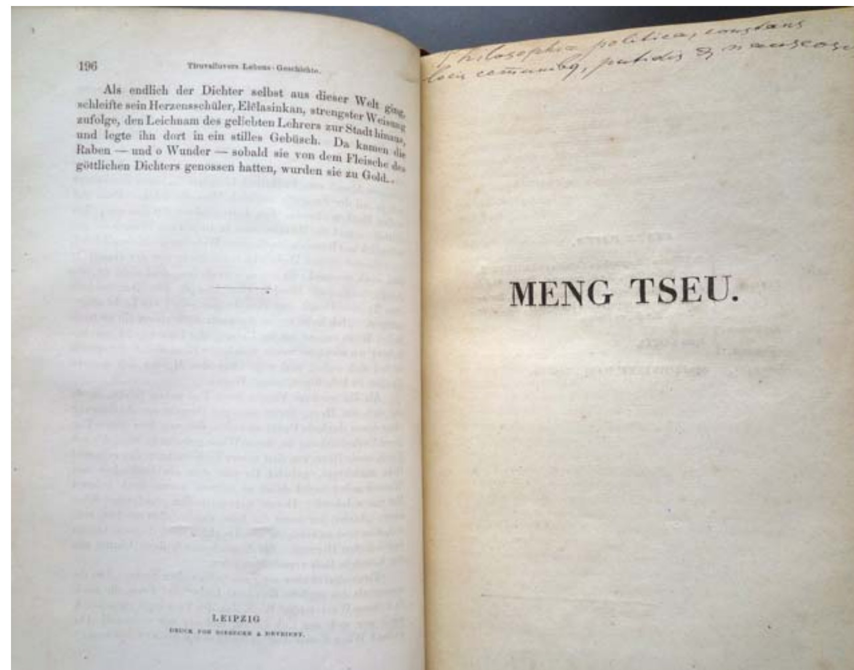
around him; hence its usual meaning, That which induces effects or consequences. A cause; because; for the sake of; on account of: the circumstance from which; to influence or engage to do; to rest or lean upon; to continue as before, to conform to what exists. A surname. To rhyme, read Yen. Occurs denoting, To disperse. 事非無因 Sze fei woo yin, The affair is not without a cause. 爲何丨 Wei ho yin, For what cause? 丨甚事 Yin shin sze, Because of what affair? 丨爲他來得遲所以罵他 Yin wei t'ha lae tih che, so-e ma t'ha, Because he came late, therefore gave him a scolding. This mode of expression is usual, 丨 Yin, Because, in the first member of the sentence; and 所以 So-e, or 故 Koo, Therefore, in the beginning of the next member. 丨他不來故此我不喜歡 Yin t'ha pŭh lae, koo tsze, wo pŭh he-hwan, Because he did not come, (therefore) I was displeased. 丨何緣由 Yin ho yuen yew, For what reason? because of what original circumstances. 丨此之故 Yin tsze che koo, For this reason; for this cause. 煩腦皆因強出頭 Fan naou, keae yin keang ch'hŭh t'how, Trouble and vexation all arise from violently pushing out one's head; i. e. from being too forward to interfere or attract notice. 丨以爲利 Yin e wei le, For the sake of gain. 殷丨於夏禮 Yin yin yu Hea le, The dynasty Yin continued in the great principles of propriety observed by the dynasty Hea. 周丨於殷禮 Chow yin yu Yin le, The dynasty Chow, continued in the observances of Yin. 三代相繼皆丨之而不能變 San tae seang ke, keae yin che urh pŭh năng pëen, The three Dynasties succeeded each other, and all continued (the le or moral principles) unable to change them. (Lun-yu.) 丨循. 丨仍. 丨其故之謂也 Yin-seun, Yin-jing, yin k'he koo che wei yay, The phrases Yin-seun and Yin-jing, express continuing the old state of things. (Lŭh-shoo.) Yin-seun, often occurs in the Peking Gazettes denoting remissness, negligence, letting things go on in any way without paying attention to them. 爲高必丨丘陵 爲下必丨川澤. 爲政不丨先王之道. 可謂智乎 He who would raise any thing high, must avail himself of existing hills and mountains; he who descends low, must avail himself of existing low lands and beds of rivers,—and can he be called wise who would rule the Empire without availing himself of the existing principles of the ancient kings. (Măng-tsze.) By thus, 丨之 Yin che, Availing one's self of what previously existed; it is added, 用力少而成功多矣 One effects much with little labour. 厥民丨 Keuĕ min yin, The people were more and more dispersed. (Shoo-king.) 丨天事天 丨地事地 Yin t'hëen sze t'hëen; yin te sze te, Conformably to the height of Heaven, worship (or sacrifice to) it on a higher place or altar: conformably to earth, being lower, sacrifice to it on a lower place. (Le-king.) 丨不失其親亦可宗也 Yin, pŭh shĭh k'he ts'hin, yĭh k'ho tsung yay, In depending on any one, do not miss in respect of a person worthy of being nearly related to, and who also may be worthy of being regarded as a master. 時子丨陳子而以告孟子 She-tsze yin Chin-tsze urh e kaou Măng-tsze; She-tsze engaged (or employed) Chin-tsze to mention these circumstances to Măng-tsze. 無丨 Woo yin, No apparent source; place or cause from which a thing proceeds. 欲知前世丨今生受者是欲知後世丨今生作者是 Yŏ che tsëen she yin, kin săng show chay she; yŏ che how she yin, kin săng tsŏ chay she, He who desires to know what he was in a former state of existence, may infer it from what he receives now; he who wishes to know what he will be in a future state, may ascertain it from his present actions. Occurs in the sense of 姻 Yin, Marriage.

囟 YAOU. The name of a divinity.

囪 CHWANG. An open aperture, like a window.

囡 Same as 囜 Neĭh, see above.

APPENDIX 7: SCHOPENHAUER’S MARKS IN HIS COPY OF THE LATIN MENCIUS TRANSLATION



196 Tiruvalluvers Lebens-Geschichte.

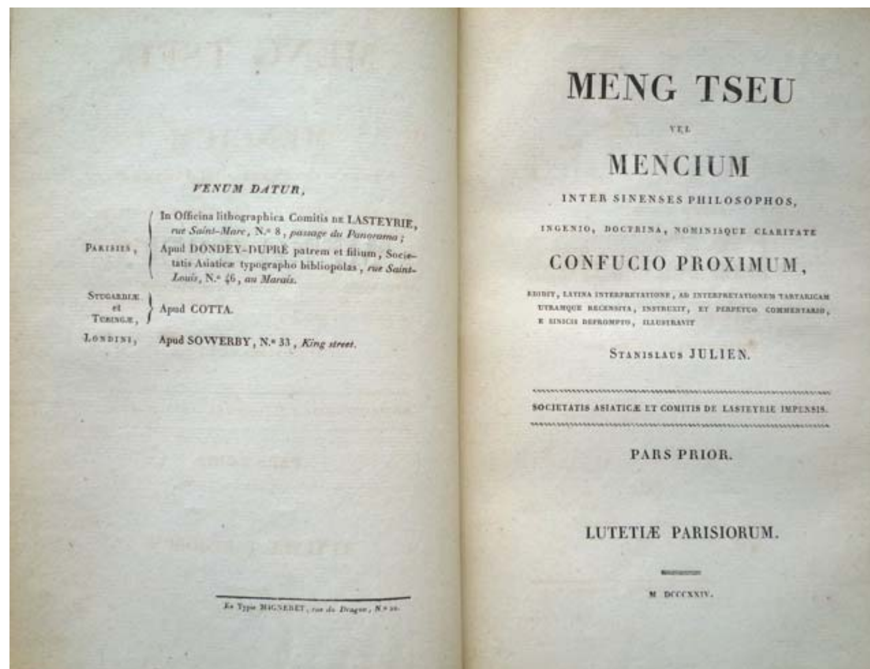
Als endlich der Dichter selbst aus dieser Welt ging, schleifte sein Herzensschüler, Elēlasinkan, strengster Weisung zufolge, den Leichnam des geliebten Lehrers zur Stadt hinaus, und legte ihn dort in ein stilles Gebüsch. Da kamen die Raben — und o Wunder — sobald sie von dem Fleische des göttlichen Dichters genossen hatten, wurden sie zu Gold. .

LEIPZIG

Philosophia politica, constans locis communibus, putidis & nauseosis

MENG TSEU.

Cover page: “*Philosophia politica, constans locis communibus putidis & nauseosis*”
(political philosophy, monotony of pedantic and nauseous platitudes)



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MENG TSEU

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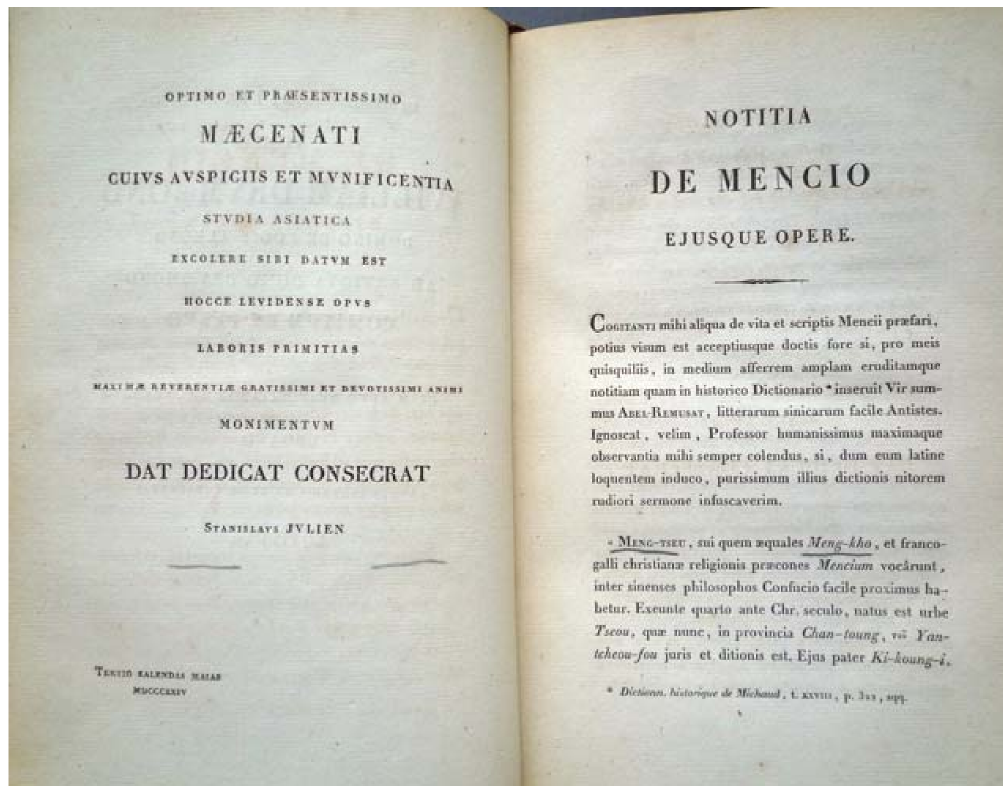
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OPTIMO ET PRÆSENTISSIMO
MÆCENATI
CVIVS AVSPICIIS ET MVNIFICENTIA
STVDIA ASIATICA
EXCOLERE SIBI DATVM EST
HOCCE LEVIDENSE OPVS
LABORIS PRIMITIAS
MAXIMÆ REVERENTIÆ GRATISSIMI ET DEVOTISSIMI ANIMI
MONIMENTVM
DAT DEDICAT CONSECRAT
STANISLAVS JVLIEN

TERTIO KALENDAS MAIAS
MDCCCXXIV

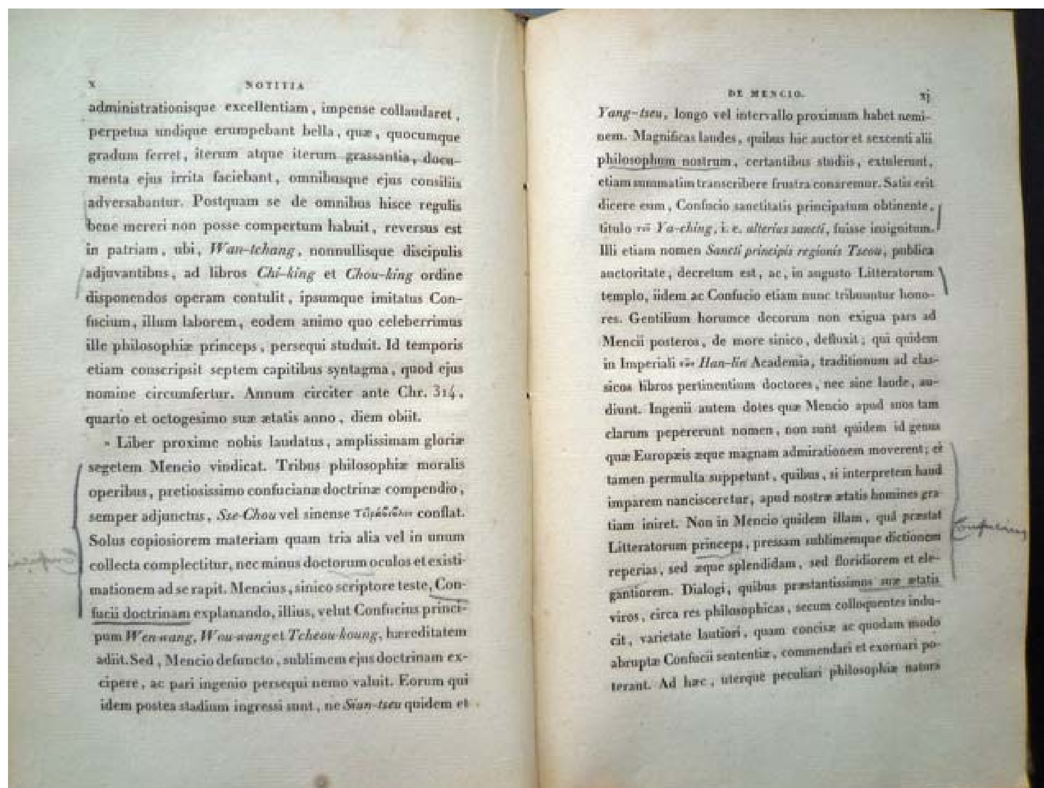
NOTITIA
DE MENCIO
EJUSQUE OPERE.

Cogitanti mihi aliqua de vita et scriptis Mencii præfari, potius visum est acceptiusque doctis fore si, pro meis quisquiliis, in medium afferrem amplam eruditamque notitiam quam in historico Dictionario * inseruit Vir summus Abel-Remusat, litterarum sinicarum facile Antistes. Ignoscat, velim, Professor humanissimus maximaque observantia mihi semper colendus, si, dum eum latine loquentem induco, purissimum illius dictionis nitorem rudiori sermone infuscaverim.

« Meng-tseu, sui quem æquales *Meng-kho*, et francogalli christianæ religionis præcones *Mencium* vocârunt, inter sinenses philosophos Confucio facile proximus habetur. Exeunte quarto ante Chr. seculo, natus est urbe *Tseou*, quæ nunc, in provincia *Chan-toung*, τοῦ *Yan-tcheou-fou* juris et ditionis est. Ejus pater *Ki-koung-i*,

* *Diction. historique de Michaud*, t. XXVIII, p. 322, sqq.

Pages vi and vii. Pencil marks sometimes smudge opposite pages.



x NOTITIA

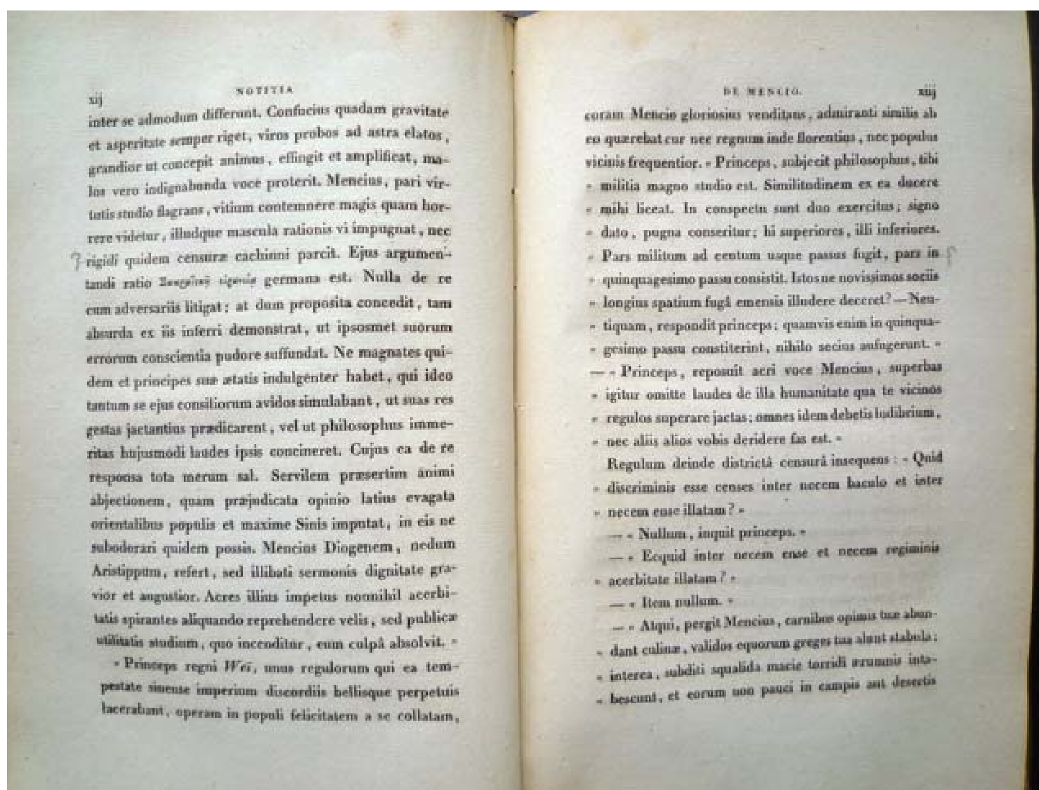
administrationisque excellentiam, impense collaudaret, perpetua undique erumpebant bella, quæ, quocumque gradum ferret, iterum atque iterum grassantia, documenta ejus irrita faciebant, omnibusque ejus consiliis adversabantur. Postquam se de omnibus hisce regulis bene mereri non posse compertum habuit, reversus est in patriam, ubi, *Wan-tchang*, nonnullisque discipulis adjuvantibus, ad libros *Chi-king* et *Chou-king* ordine disponendos operam contulit, ipsumque imitatus Confucium, illum laborem, eodem animo quo celeberrimus ille philosophiæ princeps, persequi studuit. Id temporis etiam conscripsit septem capitibus syntagma, quod ejus nomine circumfertur. Annum circiter ante Chr. 314, quarto et octogesimo suæ ætatis anno, diem obiit.

« Liber proxime nobis laudatus, amplissimam gloriæ segetem Mencio vindicat. Tribus philosophiæ moralis operibus, pretiosissimo confucianæ doctrinæ compendio, semper adjunctus, *Sse-Chou* vel sinense Τετράβιβλον conflat. Solus copiosiorem materiam quam tria alia vel in unum collecta complectitur, nec minus doctorum oculos et existimationem ad se rapit. Mencius, sinico scriptore teste, Confucii doctrinam explanando, illius, velut Confucius principum *Wen-wang*, *Wou-wang* et *Tcheou-koung*, hæreditatem adiit. Sed, Mencio defuncto, sublimem ejus doctrinam excipere, ac pari ingenio persequi nemo valuit. Eorum qui idem postea stadium ingressi sunt, ne *Siun-tseu* quidem et

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Yang-tseu, longo vel intervallo proximum habet neminem. Magnificas laudes, quibus hic auctor et sexcenti alii philosophum nostrum, certantibus studiis, extulerunt, etiam summatim transcribere frustra conaremur. Satis erit dicere eum, Confucio sanctitatis principatum obtinente, titulo τοῦ *Ya-ching*, i. e. *alterius sancti*, fuisse insignitum. Illi etiam nomen *Sancti principis regionis Tseou*, publica auctoritate, decretum est, ac, in augusto Litteratorum templo, iidem ac Confucio etiam nunc tribuuntur honores. Gentilium horumce decorum non exigua pars ad Mencii posteros, de more sinico, defluxit; qui quidem in Imperiali τῇ *Han-lin* Academia, traditionum ad classicos libros pertinentium doctores, nec sine laude, audiunt. Ingenii autem dotes quæ Mencio apud suos tam clarum pepererunt nomen, non sunt quidem id genus quæ Europæis æque magnam admirationem moverent; et tamen permulta suppetunt, quibus, si interpretem haud imparem nancisceretur, apud nostræ ætatis homines gratiam iniret. Non in Mencio quidem illam, qui præstat Litteratorum princeps, pressam sublimemque dictionem reperias, sed æque splendidam, sed floridiorem et elegantiorem. Dialogi, quibus præstantissimos suæ ætatis viros, circa res philosophicas, secum colloquentes inducit, varietate lautiori, quam concisæ ac quodam modo abruptæ Confucii sententiæ, commendari et exornari poterant. Ad hæc, uterque peculiari philosophiæ natura

Pages x and xi. "Confucius" in right margin of p. xi.



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inter se admodum differunt. Confucius quadam gravitate et asperitate semper riget, viros probos ad astra elatos, grandior ut concepit animus, effingit et amplificat, malos vero indignabunda voce proterit. Mencius, pari virtutis studio flagrans, vitium contemnere magis quam horrere videtur, illudque mascula rationis vi impugnat, nec rigidi quidem censuræ cachinni parcit. Ejus argumentandi ratio Σωκρατικῆς εἰρωνείας germana est. Nulla de re cum adversariis litigat; at dum proposita concedit, tam absurda ex iis inferri demonstrat, ut ipsosmet suorum errorum conscientia pudore suffundat. Ne magnates quidem et principes suæ ætatis indulgenter habet, qui ideo tantum se ejus consiliorum avidos simulabant, ut suas res gestas jactantius prædicarent, vel ut philosophus immeritas hujusmodi laudes ipsis concineret. Cujus ea de re responsa tota merum sal. Servilem præsertim animi abjectionem, quam præjudicata opinio latius evagata orientalibus populis et maxime Sinis imputat, in eis ne subodorari quidem possis. Mencius Diogenem, nedum Aristippum, refert, sed illibati sermonis dignitate gravior et augustior. Acres illius impetus nonnihil acerbitatis spirantes aliquando reprehendere velis, sed publicæ utilitatis studium, quo incenditur, eum culpâ absolvit. »

« Princeps regni *Wei*, unus regulorum qui ea tempestate sinense imperium discordiis bellisque perpetuis lacerabant, operam in populi felicitatem a se collatam,

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coram Mencio gloriosius venditans, admiranti similis ab eo quærebat cur nec regnum inde florentius, nec populus vicinis frequentior. « Princeps, subjecit philosophus, tibi « militia magno studio est. Similitudinem ex ea ducere « mihi liceat. In conspectu sunt duo exercitus; signo « dato, pugna conseritur; hi superiores, illi inferiores. « Pars militum ad centum usque passus fugit, pars in « quinquagesimo passu consistit. Istosne novissimos sociis « longius spatium fugâ emensis illudere deceret? — Neu- « tiquam, respondit princeps; quamvis enim in quinqua- « gesimo passu constiterint, nihilo secius aufugerunt. »

— « Princeps, reposuit acri voce Mencius, superbas « igitur omitte laudes de illa humanitate qua te vicinos « regulos superare jactas; omnes idem debetis ludibrium, « nec aliis alios vobis deridere fas est. »

Regulum deinde districtâ censurâ insequens : « Quid « discriminis esse censes inter necem baculo et inter « necem ense illatam? »

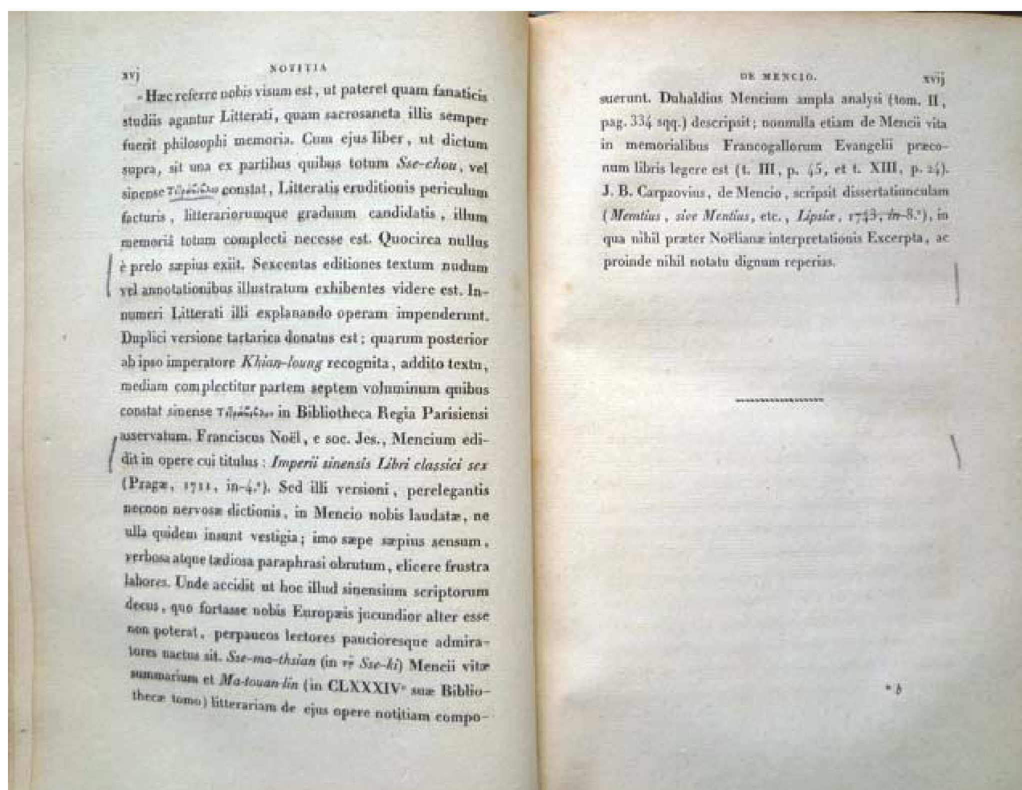
— « Nullum, inquit princeps. »

— « Ecquid inter necem ense et necem regiminis « acerbitate illatam? »

— « Item nullum. »

— « Atqui, pergit Mencius, carnibus opimis tuæ abun- « dant culinæ, validos equorum greges tua alunt stabula; « interea, subditi squalida macie torridi ærumnis inta- « bescunt, et eorum non pauci in campis aut desertis

Pages xii and xiii: Question mark in margin of line 7 on p. xii



xvj NOTITIA

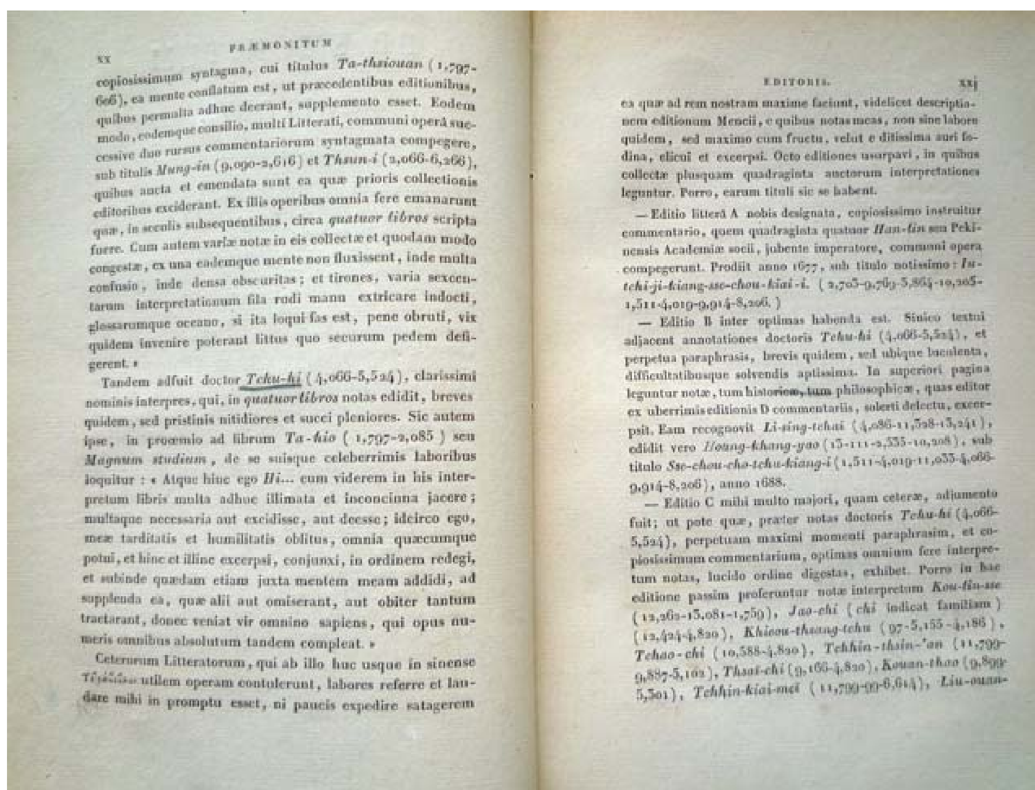
« Hæc referre nobis visum est, ut pateret quam fanaticis studiis agantur Litterati, quam sacrosancta illis semper fuerit philosophi memoria. Cum ejus liber, ut dictum supra, sit una ex partibus quibus totum *Sse-chou*, vel sinense Τετράβιβλον constat, Litteratis eruditionis periculum facturis, litterariorumque graduum candidatis, illum memoriâ totum complecti necesse est. Quocirca nullus è prelo sæpius exiit. Sexcentas editiones textum nudum vel annotationibus illustratum exhibentes videre est. Innumeri Litterati illi explanando operam impenderunt. Duplici versione tartarica donatus est; quarum posterior ab ipso imperatore *Khian-loung* recognita, addito textu, mediam complectitur partem septem voluminum quibus constat sinense Τετραβίβλον in Bibliotheca Regia Parisiensi asservatum. Franciscus Noël, e soc. Jes., Mencium edidit in opere cui titulus : *Imperii sinensis Libri classici sex* (Pragæ, 1711, in-4.°). Sed illi versioni, perelegantis necnon nervosæ dictionis, in Mencio nobis laudatæ, ne ulla quidem insunt vestigia; imo sæpe sæpius sensum, verbosa atque tædiosa paraphrasi obrutum, elicere frustra labores. Unde accidit ut hoc illud sinensium scriptorum decus, quo fortasse nobis Europæis jucundior alter esse non poterat, perpaucos lectores paucioresque admiratores nactus sit. *Sse-ma-thsian* (in τῷ *Sse-ki*) Mencii vitæ summarium et *Ma-touan-lin* (in CLXXXIV° suæ Bibliothecæ tomo) litterariam de ejus opere notitiam compo-

DE MENCIO. xvij

suerunt. Duhaldius Mencium ampla analysi (tom. II, pag. 334 sqq.) descripsit; nonnulla etiam de Mencii vita in memorialibus Francogallorum Evangelii præconum libris legere est (t. III, p. 45, et t. XIII, p. 24). J. B. Carpzovius, de Mencio, scripsit dissertatiunculam (*Mentius, sive Mentius*, etc., *Lipsiæ*, 1743, in-8.°), in qua nihil præter Noëlianæ interpretationis Excerpta, ac proinde nihil notatu dignum reperias.

* b

Pages xvi and xvii. What seem lines on p. xvii are smudges



xx PRÆMONITUM

copiosissimum syntagma, cui titulus *Ta-thsiouan* (1,797-666), ea mente conflatum est, ut præcedentibus editionibus, quibus permulta adhuc deerant, supplemento esset. Eodem modo, eodemque consilio, multi Litterati, communi operâ successive duo rursus commentariorum syntagmata compegere, sub titulis *Mung-in* (9,090-2,616) et *Thsun-i* (2,066-6,266), quibus aucta et emendata sunt ea quæ prioris collectionis editoribus exciderant. Ex illis operibus omnia fere emanarunt quæ, in seculis subsequentibus, circa *quatuor libros* scripta fuere. Cum autem variæ notæ in eis collectæ et quodam modo congestæ, ex una eademque mente non fluxissent, inde multa confusio, inde densa obscuritas; et tirones, varia sexcentarum interpretationum fila rudi manu extricare indocti, glossarumque oceano, si ita loqui fas est, pene obruti, vix quidem invenire poterant littus quo securum pedem defigerent. »

Tandem adfuit doctor *Tchu-hi* (4,066-5,524), clarissimi nominis interpres, qui, in *quatuor libros* notas edidit, breves quidem, sed pristinis nitidiores et succi pleniores. Sic autem ipse, in proœmio ad librum *Ta-hio* (1,797-2,085) seu *Magnum studium*, de se suisque celeberrimis laboribus loquitur: « Atque hinc ego *Hi*... cum viderem in his interpretum libris multa adhuc illimata et inconcinna jacere; multaque necessaria aut excidisse, aut deesse; idcirco ego, meæ tarditatis et humilitatis oblitus, omnia quæcumque potui, et hinc et illinc excerpsi, conjunxi, in ordinem redegi, et subinde quædam etiam juxta mentem meam addidi, ad supplenda ea, quæ alii aut omiserant, aut obiter tantum tractarant, donec veniat vir omnino sapiens, qui opus numeris omnibus absolutum tandem compleat. »

Ceterorum Litteratorum, qui ab illo huc usque in sinense Tŷ... ullam operam contulerunt, labores referre et laudare mihi in promptu esset, ni paucis expedire satagerem

EDITORIS. xxj

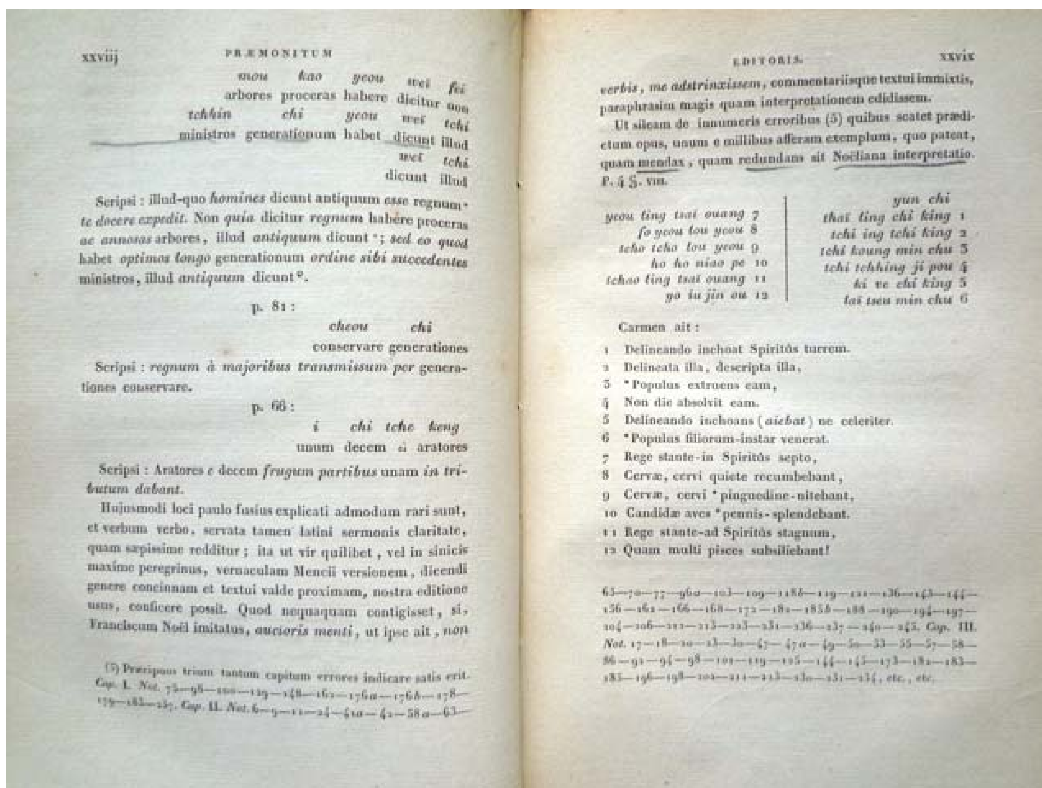
ea quæ ad rem nostram maxime faciunt, videlicet descriptionem editionum Mencii, e quibus notas meas, non sine labore quidem, sed maximo cum fructu, velut e ditissima auri fodina, elicui et excerpsi. Octo editiones usurpavi, in quibus collectæ plusquam quadraginta auctorum interpretationes leguntur. Porro, earum tituli sic se habent.

— Editio litterâ A nobis designata, copiosissimo instruitur commentario, quem quadraginta quatuor *Han-lin* seu Pekinensis Academiæ socii, jubente imperatore, communi opera compegerunt. Prodiit anno 1677, sub titulo notissimo: *Iu-tchi-ji-kiang-sse-chou-kiai-i.* (2,703-9,763-5,864-10,265-1,511-4,019-9,914-8,206.)

— Editio B inter optimas habenda est. Sinico textui adjacent annotationes doctoris *Tchu-hi* (4,066-5,524), et perpetua paraphrasis, brevis quidem, sed ubique luculenta, difficultatibusque solvendis aptissima. In superiori pagina leguntur notæ, tum historicæ, tum philosophicæ, quas editor ex uberrimis editionis D commentariis, solerti delectu, excerpsit. Eam recognovit *Li-sing-tchai* (4,086-11,528-13,241), edidit vero *Houng-khang-yao* (13-111-2,535-10,208), sub titulo *Sse-chou-cho-tchu-kiang-i* (1,511-4,019-11,033-4,066-9,914-8,206), anno 1688.

— Editio C mihi multo majori, quam ceteræ, adjumento fuit; ut pote quæ, præter notas doctoris *Tchu-hi* (4,066-5,524), perpetuam maximi momenti paraphrasim, et copiosissimum commentarium, optimas omnium fere interpretum notas, lucido ordine digestas, exhibet. Porro in hac editione passim proferuntur notæ interpretum *Kou-fin-sse* (12,262-13,081-1,759), *Jao-chi* (*chi* indicat familiam) (12,424-4,820), *Khieou-thsang-tchu* (97-5,155-4,186), *Tchao-chi* (10,588-4,820), *Tchhin-thsin-'an* (11,799-9,887-5,162), *Thsai-chi* (9,166-4,820), *Kouan-thao* (9,899-5,301), *Tchhin-kiai-mei* (11,799-99-6,614), *Liu-ouan-*

Pages xx and xxi: Tchu-hi on p. xx underlined; only smudge on p. xxi.



xxviij PRÆMONITUM

mou kao yeou wei fei
arbores proceras habere dicitur non
tchhin chi yeou wei tchi
ministros generationum habet dicunt illud
wei tchi
dicunt illud

Scripsi: illud-quo *homines* dicunt antiquum *esse regnum*-*te docere expedit.* Non *quia* dicitur *regnum* habere proceras *ac annosas* arbores, illud *antiquum* dicunt *; *sed eo quod* habet *optimos longo* generationum *ordine sibi succedentes* ministros, illud *antiquum* dicunt *.

p. 81:

cheou chi
conservare generationes

Scripsi: *regnum à majoribus transmissum per generationes* conservare.

p. 66:

i chi tche keng
unum decem ... aratores

Scripsi: Aratores *e* decem *frugum partibus* unam *in tributum dabant.*

Hujusmodi loci paulo fusius explicati admodum rari sunt, et verbum verbo, servata tamen latini sermonis claritate, quam sæpissime redditur; ita ut vir quilibet, vel in sinicis maxime peregrinus, vernaculam Mencii versionem, dicendi genere concinnam et textui valde proximam, nostra editione usus, conficere possit. Quod nequaquam contigisset, si, Franciscum Noël imitatus, *auctoris menti*, ut ipse ait, *non*

(5) Præcipuos trium tantum capitum errores indicare satis erit. Cap. I. Not. 75—98—100—129—148—162—176a—176b—178—179—182—237. Cap. II. Not. 6—9—11—24—41a—42—58a—63—

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verbis, *me adstrinxissem*, commentariisque textui immixtis, paraphrasim magis quam interpretationem edidissem.

Ut sileam de innumeris erroribus (5) quibus scatet prædictum opus, unum e millibus afferam exemplum, quo pateat, quam mendax, quam redundans sit Noëliana interpretatio. P. 4 § viii.

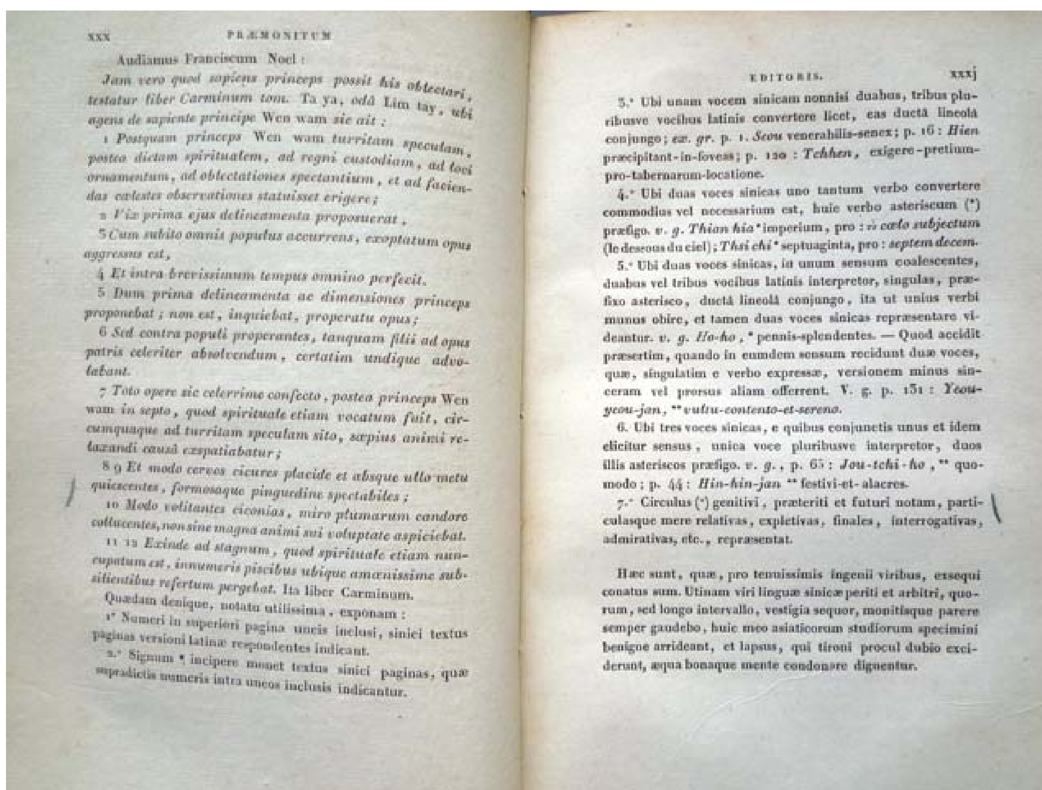
	yun chi
yeou ling tsai ouang 7	*thai ling chi king* 1
fo yeou tou yeou 8	*tchi ing tchi king* 2
tcho tcho tou yeou 9	*tchi koung min chu* 3
ho ho niao pe 10	*tchi tchhing ji pou* 4
tchao ling tsai ouang 11	*ki ve chi king* 5
yo iu jin ou 12	*tai tseu min chu* 6

Carmen ait:

1 Delineando inchoat Spiritûs turrem.
2 Delineata illa, descripta illa,
3 *Populus extruens eam,
4 Non die absolvit eam.
5 Delineando inchoans (*aiebat*) ne celeriter.
6 *Populus filiorum-instar venerat.
7 Rege stante-in Spiritûs septo,
8 Cervæ, cervi quiete recumbebant,
9 Cervæ, cervi *pinguedine-nitebant,
10 Candidæ aves *pennis-splendebant.
11 Rege stante-ad Spiritûs stagnum,
12 Quam multi pisces subsiliebant!

63—70—77—96a—103—109—118b—119—131—136—143—144—156—162—166—168—172—182—185b—188—190—194—197—204—206—211—213—223—231—236—237—240—245. Cap. III. Not. 17—18—20—23—30—47—47a—49—50—53—55—57—58—86—91—94—98—101—119—125—144—145—173—182—183—185—196—198—202—211—213—230—231—234, etc., etc.

Pages xxviii & xxvix (should be xxix): four words underlined on p. xxix



xxx PRÆMONITUM

Audiamus Franciscum Noel :

Jam vero quod sapiens princeps possit his oblectari, testatur liber Carminum tom. Ta ya, odâ Lim tay, *ubi agens de sapiente principe* Wen wam *sic ait* :

1 *Postquam princeps* Wen wam *turritam speculam, postea dictam spiritualem, ad regni custodiam, ad loci ornamentum, ad oblectationes spectantium, et ad faciendas cœlestes observationes statuisset erigere;*

2 *Vix prima ejus delineamenta proposuerat*,

3 *Cum subito omnis populus accurrens, exoptatum opus aggressus est,*

4 *Et intra brevissimum tempus omnino perfecit.*

5 *Dum prima delineamenta ac dimensiones princeps proponebat ; non est, inquiebat, properatu opus;*

6 *Sed contra populi properantes, tanquam filii ad opus patris celeriter absolvendum, certatim undique advolabant.*

7 *Toto opere sic celerrime confecto, postea princeps* Wen wam *in septo, quod spirituale etiam vocatum fuit, circumquaque ad turritam speculam sito, sæpius animi relaxandi causâ exspatiabatur;*

8 9 *Et modo cervos cicures placide et absque ullo metu quiescentes, formosaque pinguedine spectabiles ;*

10 *Modo volitantes ciconias, miro plumarum candore collucentes, non sine magna animi sui voluptate aspiciebat.*

11 12 *Exinde ad stagnum, quod spirituale etiam nuncupatum est, innumeris piscibus ubique amœnissime subsilientibus refertum pergebat.* Ita liber Carminum.

Quædam denique, notatu utilissima, exponam :

1.° Numeri in superiori pagina uncis inclusi, sinici textus paginas versioni latinæ respondentes indicant.

2.° Signum ¶ incipere monet textus sinici paginas, quæ supradictis numeris intra uncos inclusis indicantur.

EDITORIS. xxxj

3.° Ubi unam vocem sinicam nonnisi duabus, tribus pluribusve vocibus latinis convertere licet, eas ductâ lineolâ conjungo; *ex. gr.* p. 1. *Seou* venerabilis-senex; p. 16 : *Hien* præcipitant-in-foveas; p. 120 : *Tchhen*, exigere-pretium-pro-tabernarum-locatione.

4.° Ubi duas voces sinicas uno tantum verbo convertere commodius vel necessarium est, huic verbo asteriscum (*) præfigo. *v. g. Thian hia* * imperium, pro : *ꝛi cœlo subjectum* (le dessous du ciel); *Thsi chi* * septuaginta, pro : *septem decem*.

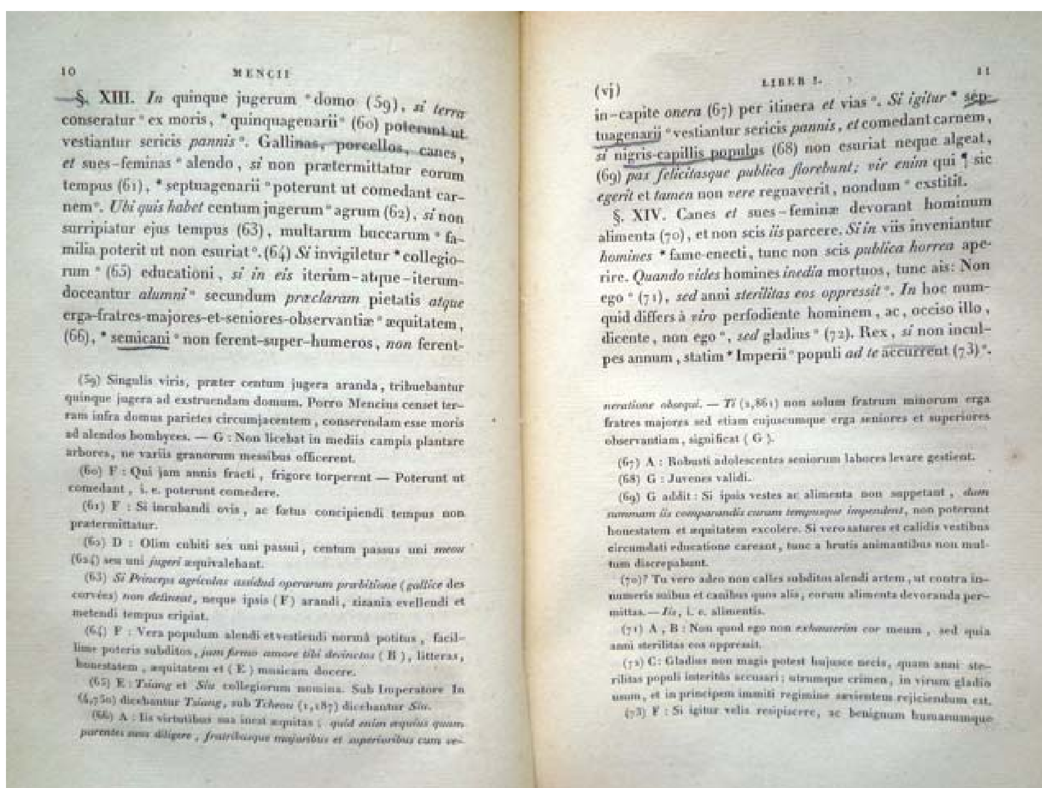
5.° Ubi duas voces sinicas, in unum sensum coalescentes, duabus vel tribus vocibus latinis interpretor, singulas, præfixo asterisco, ductâ lineolâ conjungo, ita ut unius verbi munus obire, et tamen duas voces sinicas repræsentare videantur. *v. g. Ho-ho*, * pennis-splendentes. — Quod accidit præsertim, quando in eumdem sensum recidunt duæ voces, quæ, singulatim e verbo expressæ, versionem minus sinceram vel prorsus aliam offerrent. V. g. p. 131 : *Yeou-yeou-jan*, ** *vultu-contento-et-sereno*.

6. Ubi tres voces sinicas, e quibus conjunctis unus et idem elicitur sensus, unica voce pluribusve interpretor, duos illis asteriscos præfigo. *v. g.*, p. 65 : *Jou-tchi-ho*, ** quomodo ; p. 44 : *Hin-hin-jan* ** festivi-et-alacres.

7.° Circulus (°) genitivi, præteriti et futuri notam, particulasque mere relativas, expletivas, finales, interrogativas, admirativas, etc., repræsentat.

Hæc sunt, quæ, pro tenuissimis ingenii viribus, exsequi conatus sum. Utinam viri linguæ sinicæ periti et arbitri, quorum, sed longo intervallo, vestigia sequor, monitisque parere semper gaudebo, huic meo asiaticorum studiorum specimini benigne arrideant, et lapsus, qui tironi procul dubio exciderunt, æqua bonaque mente condonare dignentur.

Pages xxx & xxxi: line in margin of p. xxxi; on page xxx only smudge



10 MENCII

§. XIII. *In* quinque jugerum *domo (59), *si terra* conseratur ° ex moris, *quinquagenarii° (60) poterunt ut vestiantur sericis *pannis* °. Gallinas, porcellos, canes, *et* sues-feminas ° alendo, *si* non prætermittatur eorum tempus (61), *septuagenarii °poterunt ut comedant carnem°. *Ubi quis habet* centum jugerum ° agrum (62), *si* non surripiatur ejus tempus (63), multarum buccarum * familia poterit ut non esuriat °. (64) *Si* invigiletur *collegiorum ° (65) educationi, *si in eis* iterùm-atque-iterum-doceantur *alumni* ° secundum *præclaram* pietatis *atque* erga-fratres-majores-et-seniores-observantiæ ° æquitatem, (66), * semicani ° non ferent-super-humeros, *non* ferent-

(59) Singulis viris, præter centum jugera aranda, tribuebantur quinque jugera ad exstruendam domum. Porro Mencius censet terram infra domus parietes circumjacentem, conserendam esse moris ad alendos bombyces. — G : Non licebat in mediis campis plantare arbores, ne variis granorum messibus officerent.

(60) F : Qui jam annis fracti, frigore torperent — Poterunt ut comedant, i. e. poterunt comedere.

(61) F : Si incubandi ovis, ac fœtus concipiendi tempus non prætermittatur.

(62) D : Olim cubiti sex uni passui, centum passus uni *meou* (624) seu uni *jugeri* æquivalebant.

(63) *Si Princeps agricolas assiduâ operarum præbitione* (*gallice* des corvées) *non detineat*, neque ipsis (F) arandi, zizania evellendi et metendi tempus eripiat.

(64) F : Vera populum alendi et vestiendi normâ potitus, facillime poteris subditos, *jam firmo amore tibi devinctos* (B), litteras, honestatem, æquitatem et (E) musicam docere.

(65) E : *Tsiang* et *Siu* collegiorum nomina. Sub Imperatore *In* (4,750) dicebantur *Tsiang*, sub *Tcheou* (1,187) dicebantur *Siu*.

(66) A : Iis virtutibus sua inest æquitas ; *quid enim æquius quam parentes suos diligere, fratribusque majoribus et superioribus cum ve-*

LIBER I. 11

(vj)

in-capite *onera* (67) per itinera *et* vias °. *Si igitur* * septuagenarii ° vestiantur sericis *pannis*, *et* comedant carnem, *si* nigris-capillis populus (68) non esuriat neque algeat, (69) *pax felicitasque publica florebunt; vir enim* qui ¶ sic *egerit* et *tamen* non *vere* regnaverit, nondum ° exstitit.

§. XIV. Canes *et* sues-feminæ devorant hominum alimenta (70), et non scis *iis* parcere. *Si in* viis inveniantur *homines* * fame-enecti, tunc non *scis publica horrea* aperire. *Quando vides* homines *inedia* mortuos, tunc ais: Non ego ° (71), *sed* anni *sterilitas eos oppressit* °. *In* hoc numquid differs à *viro* perfodiente hominem, ac, occiso illo, dicente, non ego °, *sed* gladius ° (72). Rex, *si* non inculpes annum, statim * Imperii ° populi *ad te* accurrent (73) °.

neratione obsequi. — *Ti* (1,861) non solum fratrum minorum erga fratres majores sed etiam cujuscumque erga seniores et superiores observantiam, significat (G).

(67) A : Robusti adolescentes seniorum labores levare gestient.

(68) G : Juvenes validi.

(69) G addit : Si ipsis vestes ac alimenta non suppetant, *dum summam iis comparandis curam temposque impendent*, non poterunt honestatem et æquitatem excolere. Si vero saturæ et calidis vestibus circumdati educatione careant, tunc a brutis animantibus non multum discrepabunt.

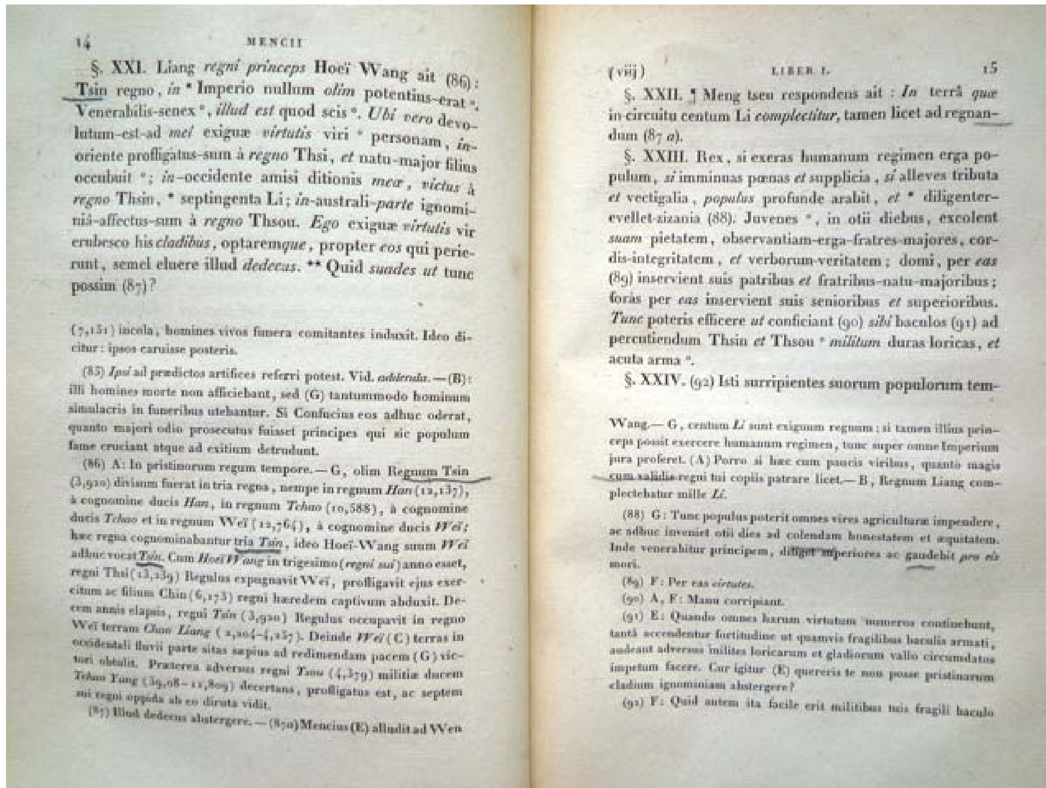
(70)? Tu vero adeo non calles subditos alendi artem, ut contra innumeris suibus et canibus quos alis, eorum alimenta devoranda permittas. — *Iis*, i. e. alimentis.

(71) A, B : Non quod ego non *exhauserim cor* meum, sed quia anni sterilitas eos oppressit.

(72) C : Gladius non magis potest hujusce necis, quam anni sterilitas populi interitûs accusari; utrumque crimen, in virum gladio usum, et in principem immiti regimine sævientem rejiciendum est.

(73) F : Si igitur velis resipiscere, ac benignum humanumque

Pages 10 & 11: only “semicani” underlined on p. 10; four words on p. 11



14 MENCII

§. XXI. Liang *regni princeps* Hoeï Wang ait (86): Tsin regno, *in* * Imperio nullum *olim* potentius-erat *. Venerabilis-senex *, *illud est* quod scis *. *Ubi vero* devolutum-est-ad *mei* exiguæ *virtutis* viri * personam, *in*-oriente profligatus-sum à *regno* Thsi, *et* natu-major filius occubuit *; *in*-occidente amisi ditionis *meæ*, *victus* à *regno* Thsin, * septingenta Li; *in*-australi-*parte* ignominii-affectus-sum à *regno* Thsou. *Ego* exiguæ *virtutis* vir erubesco his *cladibus*, optaremque, propter *eos* qui perierunt, semel eluere illud *dedecus*. ** Quid *suades ut* tunc possim (87)?

(7,151) incola; homines vivos funera comitantes induxit. Ideo dicitur: ipsos caruisse posteris.

(85) *Ipsi* ad prædictos artifices referri potest. Vid. *addenda*. — (B): illi homines morte non afficiebant, sed (G) tantummodo hominum simulacris in funeribus utebantur. Si Confucius eos adhuc oderat, quanto majori odio prosecutus fuisset principes qui sic populum fame cruciant atque ad exitium detrudunt.

(86) A: In pristinorum regum tempore. — G, olim Regnum Tsin (3,920) divisum fuerat in tria regna, nempe in regnum *Han* (12,137), à cognomine ducis *Han*, in regnum *Tchao* (10,588), à cognomine ducis *Tchao* et in regnum Weï (12,764), à cognomine ducis *Weï*; hæc regna cognominabantur tria *Tsin*, ideo Hoeï-Wang suum *Weï* adhuc vocat *Tsin*. Cum *Hoeï Wang* in trigesimo (*regni sui*) anno esset, regni Thsi (13,339) Regulus expugnavit Weï, profligavit ejus exercitum ac filium Chin (6,173) regni hæredem captivum abduxit. Decem annis elapsis, regni *Tsin* (3,920) Regulus occupavit in regno Weï terram *Chao Liang* (2,204–4,257). Deinde *Weï* (C) terras in occidentali fluvii parte sitas sæpius ad redimendam pacem (G) victori obtulit. Præterea adversus regni *Tsou* (4,379) militiæ ducem *Tchao Yang* (39,08–11,809) decertans, profligatus est, ac septem sui regni oppida ab eo diruta vidit.

(87) Illud dedecus abstergere. — (87a) Mencius (E) alludit ad Wen

(viij) LIBER I. 15

§. XXII. ¶ Meng tseu respondens ait: *In* terrâ *quæ* in-circuitu centum Li *complectitur*, tamen licet ad regnandum (87 *a*).

§. XXIII. Rex, si exeras humanum regimen erga populum, *si* imminuas pœnas *et* supplicia, *si* alleves tributa *et* vectigalia, *populus* profunde arabit, *et* * diligenter-evellet-zizania (88). Juvenes *, in otii diebus, excolent *suam* pietatem, observantiam-erga-fratres-majores, cordis-integritatem, *et* verborum-veritatem; domi, per *eas* (89) inservient suis patribus *et* fratribus-natu-majoribus; foràs per *eas* inservient suis senioribus *et* superioribus. *Tunc* poteris efficere *ut* conficiant (90) *sibi* baculos (91) ad percutiendum Thsin *et* Thsou * *militum* duras loricas, *et* acuta arma *.

§. XXIV. (92) Isti surripientes suorum populorum tem-

Wang. — G, centum *Li* sunt exiguum regnum; si tamen illius princeps possit exercere humanum regimen, tunc super omne Imperium jura proferet. (A) Porro si hæc cum paucis viribus, quanto magis cum validis regni tui copiis patrare licet. — B, Regnum Liang complectebatur mille *Li*.

(88) G: Tunc populus poterit omnes vires agriculturæ impendere, ac adhuc inveniet otii dies ad colendam honestatem et æquitatem. Inde venerabitur principem, diliget superiores ac gaudebit *pro eis* mori.

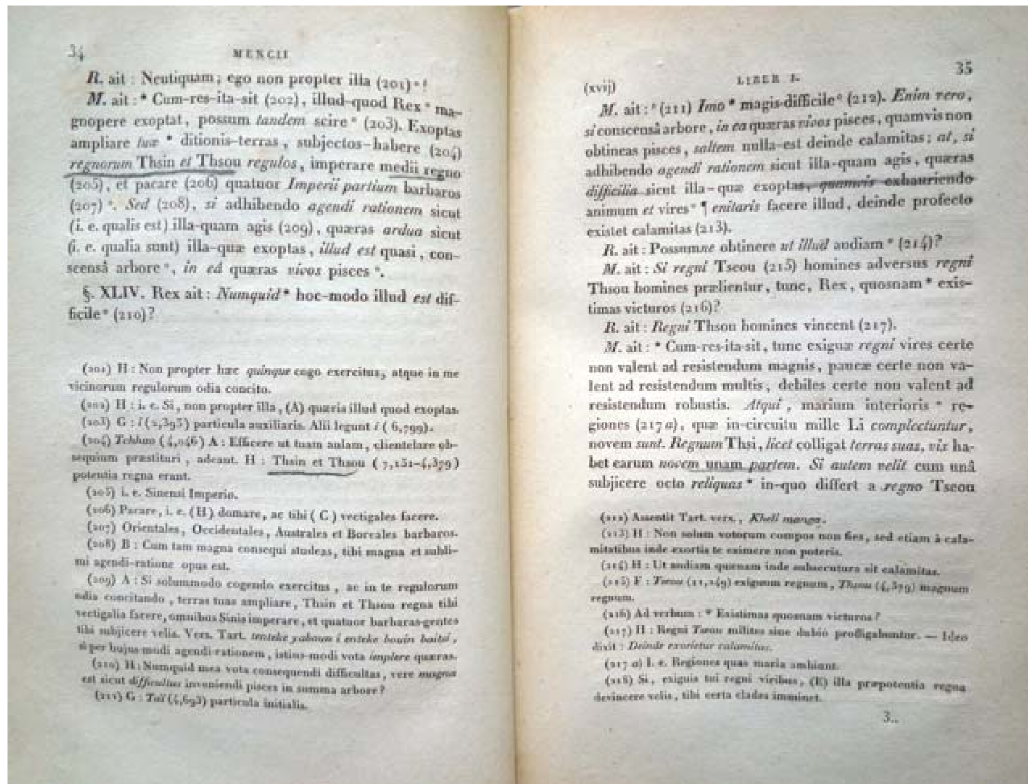
(89) F: Per eas *virtutes*.

(90) A, F: Manu corripiant.

(91) E: Quando omnes harum virtutum numeros continebunt, tantâ accendentur fortitudine ut quamvis fragilibus baculis armati, audeant adversus milites loricarum et gladiorum vallo circumdatos impetum facere. Cur igitur (E) quereris te non posse pristinarum cladium ignominiam abstergere?

(92) F: Quid autem ita facile erit militibus tuis fragili baculo

Pages 14 & 15: lines only on p. 14; on p. 15 only smudges



34 MENCII

R. ait: Neutiquam; ego non propter illa (201) *!

M. ait: * Cum-res-ita-sit (202), illud-quod Rex * magnopere exoptat, possum *tandem* scire * (203). Exoptas ampliare *tuæ* * ditionis-terras, subjectos-habere (204) *regnorum* Thsin *et* Thsou *regulos*, imperare medii regno (205), et pacare (206) quatuor *Imperii partium* barbaros (207) *. *Sed* (208), *si* adhibendo *agendi rationem* sicut (i. e. qualis est) illa-quam agis (209), quæras *ardua* sicut (i. e. qualia sunt) illa-quæ exoptas, *illud est* quasi, conscensâ arbore *, *in eâ* quæras *vivos* pisces *.

§. XLIV. Rex ait: *Numquid* * hoc-modo illud *est* difficile * (210)?

(201) H: Non propter hæc *quinque* cogo exercitus, atque in me vicinorum regulorum odia concito.

(202) H: i. e. Si, non propter illa, (A) quæris illud quod exoptas.

(203) G: *I* (2,393) particula auxiliaris. Alii legunt *i* (6,799).

(204) *Tchhao* (4,046) A: Efficere ut tuam aulam, clientelare obsequium præstituri, adeant. H: Thsin et Thsou (7,151–4,379) potentia regna erant.

(205) i. e. Sinensi Imperio.

(206) Pacare, i. e. (H) domare, ac tibi (C) vectigales facere.

(207) Orientales, Occidentales, Australes et Boreales barbaros.

(208) B: Cum tam magna consequi studeas, tibi magna et sublimi agendi-ratione opus est.

(209) A: Si solummodo cogendo exercitus, ac in te regulorum odia concitando, terras tuas ampliare, Thsin et Thsou regna tibi vectigalia facere, omnibus Sinis imperare, et quatuor barbaras-gentes tibi subjicere velis. Vers. Tart. *teisteke yaboum i enteke bouin baitsi*, si per hujus-modi agendi-rationem, istius-modi vota *implere* quæras.

(210) H: Numquid mea vota consequendi difficultas, vere magna est sicut *difficultas* inveniendi pisces in summa arbore?

(211) G: *Taï* (4,693) particula initialis.

(xvij) LIBER I. 35

M. ait: * (211) *Imo* * magis-difficile * (212). *Enim vero*, *si* conscensâ arbore, *in eâ* quæras *vivos* pisces, quamvis non obtineas pisces, *saltem* nulla-est deinde calamitas; *at*, *si* adhibendo *agendi rationem* sicut illa-quam agis, quæras *difficilia* sicut illa-quæ exoptas, quamvis exhauriendo animum *et* vires * ¶ *enitaris* facere illud, deinde profecto existet calamitas (213).

R. ait: Possumne obtinere *ut illud* audiam * (214)?

M. ait: *Si regni* Tseou (215) homines adversus *regni* Thsou homines prælientur, tunc, Rex, quosnam * existimas victuros (216)?

R. ait: *Regni* Thsou homines vincent (217).

M. ait: * Cum-res-ita-sit, tunc exiguæ *regni* vires certe non valent ad resistendum magnis, paucæ certe non valent ad resistendum multis, debiles certe non valent ad resistendum robustis. *Atqui*, marium interioris * regiones (217 *a*), quæ in-circuitu mille Li *complectuntur*, novem *sunt*. *Regnum* Thsi, *licet* colligat *terras suas*, *vix* habet earum *novem unam partem*. *Si autem velit* cum unâ subjicere octo *reliquas* * in-quo differt a *regno* Tseou

(212) Assentit Tart. vers., *Kheli mangE*.

(213) H: Non solum votorum compos non fies, sed etiam à calamitatibus inde exortis te eximere non poteris.

(214) H: Ut audiam quænam inde subsecutura sit calamitas.

(215) F: *Tseou* (11,249) exiguum regnum, *Thsou* (4,379) magnum regnum.

(216) Ad verbum: * Existimas quosnam victuros?

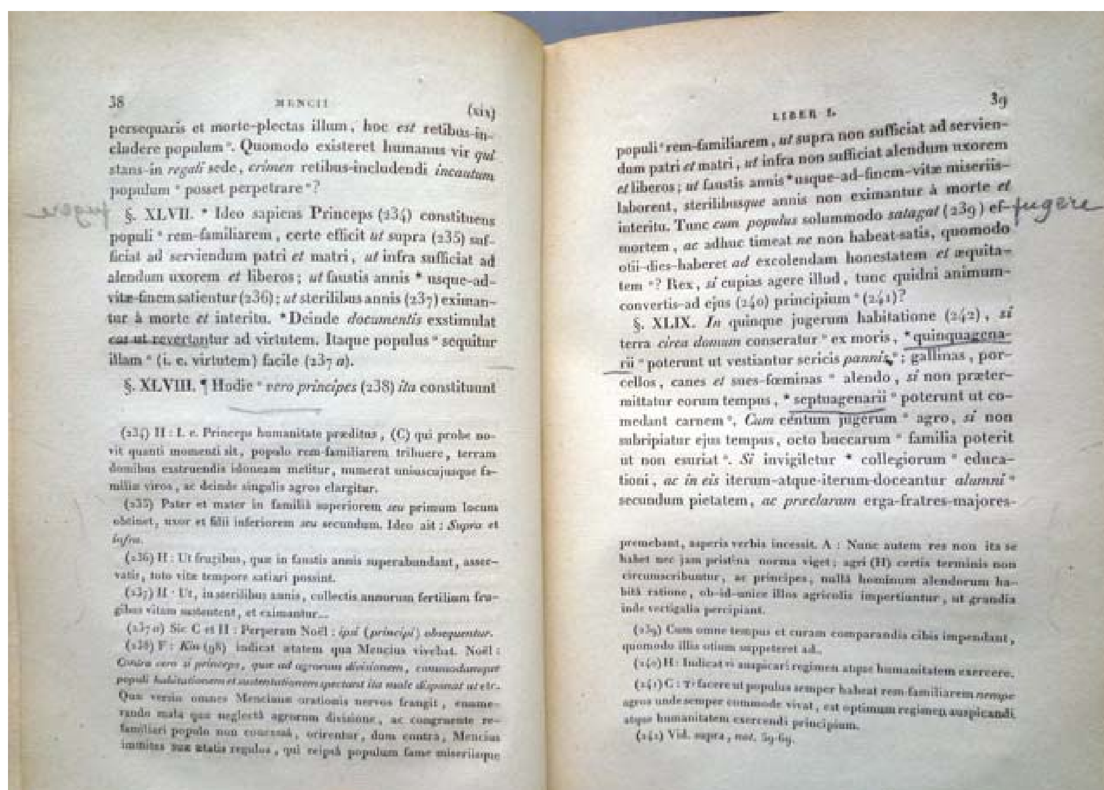
(217) H: Regni *Tseou* milites sine dubio profligabuntur. — Ideo dixit: *Deinde exorietur calamitas*.

(217 *a*) I. e. Regiones quas maria ambiunt.

(218) Si, exiguis tui regni viribus, (E) illa præpotentia regna devincere velis, tibi certa clades imminet.

3..

Pages 34 & 35: lines only on p. 34


38 MENCII (xix)

persequaris et morte-plectas illum, hoc *est* retibus-includere populum *. Quomodo existeret humanus vir *qui* stans-in *regali* sede, *crimen* retibus-includendi *incautum* populum * posset perpetrare *?

§. XLVII. * Ideo sapiens Princeps (234) constituens populi * rem-familiarem, certe efficit *ut* supra (235) sufficiat ad serviendum patri *et* matri, *ut* infra sufficiat ad alendum uxorem *et* liberos; *ut* faustis annis * usque-ad-vitæ-finem satientur (236); *ut* sterilibus annis (237) eximantur à morte *et* interitu. * Deinde *documentis* exstimulat eos ut revertantur ad virtutem. Itaque populus * sequitur illam * (i. e. virtutem) facile (237 *a*).

§. XLVIII. ¶ Hodie * *vero principes* (238) *ita* constituunt

(234) H : I. e. Princeps humanitate præditus, (C) qui probe novit quanti momenti sit, populo rem-familiarem tribuere, terram domibus exstruendis idoneam metitur, numerat uniuscujusque familiæ viros, ac deinde singulis agros elargitur.

(235) Pater et mater in familiâ superiorem *seu* primum locum obtinet, uxor et filii inferiorem *seu* secundum. Ideo ait : *Supra et Infra*.

(236) H : Ut frugibus, quæ in faustis annis superabundant, asservatis, toto vitæ tempore satiari possint.

(237) H : Ut, in sterilibus annis, collectis annorum fertilium frugibus vitam sustentent, et eximantur...

(237 *a*) Sic C et H : Perperam Noël : *ipsi (principi) obsequentur*.

39 LIBER I.

populi * rem-familiarem, *ut* supra non sufficiat ad serviendum patri *et* matri, *ut* infra non sufficiat alendum uxorem *et* liberos; *ut* faustis annis * usque-ad-finem-vitæ miseriis laborent, sterilibusque annis non eximantur à morte *et* interitu. Tunc *cum populus* solummodo *satagat* (239) effugere mortem, *ac* adhuc timeat *ne* non habeat-satis, quomodo otii-dies-haberet *ad* excolendam honestatem *et* æquitatem *? Rex, *si* cupias agere illud, tunc quidni animum-convertis-ad ejus (240) principium * (241)?

§. XLIX. *In* quinque jugerum habitatione (242), *si* terra *circa domum* conseratur * ex moris, * quinquagenarii * poterunt ut vestiantur sericis *pannis* *; gallinas, porcellos, canes *et* sues-fœminas * alendo, *si* non prætermittatur eorum tempus, * septuagenarii * poterunt ut comedant carnem *. *Cum* centum jugerum * agro, *si* non subripiatur ejus tempus, octo buccarum * familia poterit ut non esuriat *. *Si* invigiletur * collegiorum * educationi, *ac in eis* iterum-atque-iterum-doceantur *alumni* * secundum pietatem, *ac præclarum* erga-fratres-majores-

premebant, asperis verbis incessit. A : Nunc autem res non ita se habet nec jam pristina norma viget; agri (H) certis terminis non circumscribuntur, ac principes, nullâ hominum alendorum habitâ ratione, ob-id-unice illos agricolis impertiuntur, ut grandia inde vectigalia percipiant.

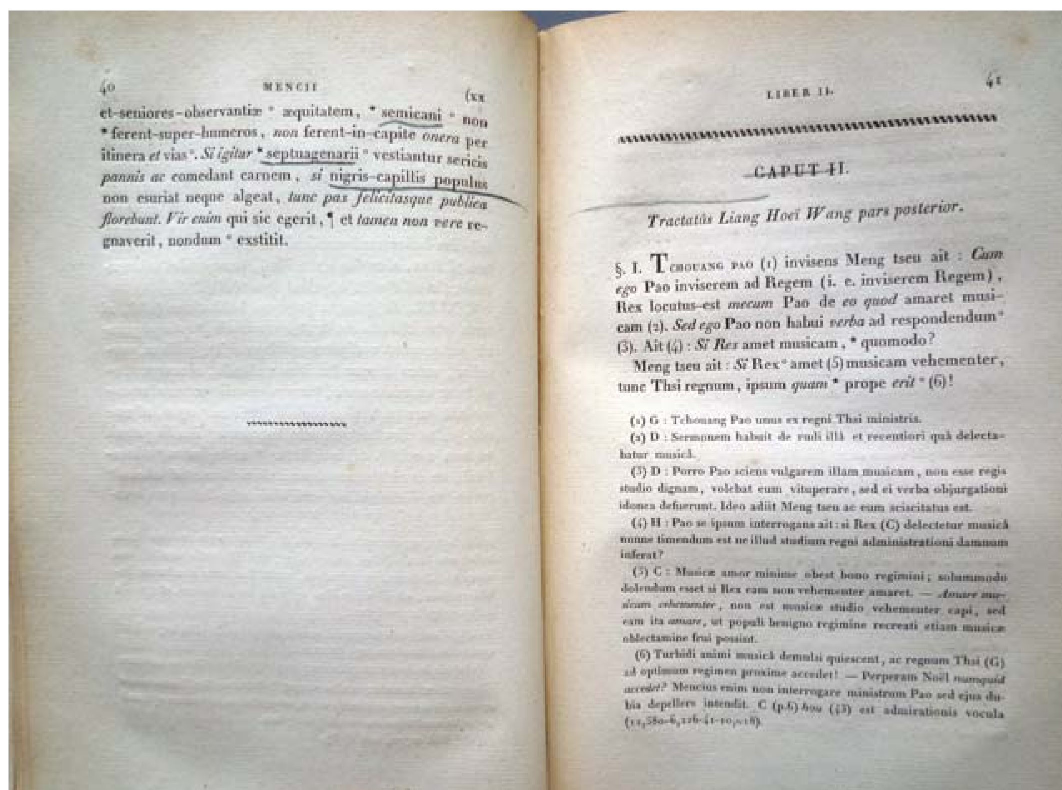
(239) Cum omne tempus et curam comparandis cibis impendant, quomodo illis otium suppeteret ad...

(240) H : Indicat vi auspicari regimen atque humanitatem exercere.

(241) C : Efficere ut populus semper habeat rem-familiarem *nempe* agros unde semper commode vivat, est optimum regimen auspicandi atque humanitatem exercendi principium.

(242) Vid. supra, *not.* 59-69.

Pages 38 & 39: "fugere" in margin of p. 39; lines only on p. 39


40 MENCII (xx

et-seniores-observantiæ * æquitatem, * semicani * non * ferent-super-humeros, *non* ferent-in-capite *onera* per itinera *et* vias *. *Si igitur* * septuagenarii * vestiantur sericis *pannis ac* comedant carnem, *si* nigris-capillis populus non esuriat neque algeat, *tunc pax felicitasque publica florebunt. Vir enim* qui sic egerit, ¶ et *tamen non vere* regnaverit, nondum * exstitit.

LIBER II. 41

CAPUT II.

Tractatûs Liang Hoeï Wang pars posterior.

§. I. TCHOUANG PAO (1) invisens Meng tseu ait : *Cum ego* Pao inviserem ad Regem (i. e. inviserem Regem), Rex locutus-est *mecum* Pao de *eo quod* amaret musicam (2). *Sed ego* Pao non habui *verba* ad respondendum * (3). Ait (4) : *Si Rex* amet musicam, * quomodo?

Meng tseu ait : *Si* Rex * amet (5) musicam vehementer, tunc Thsi regnum, ipsum *quam* * prope *erit* * (6)!

(1) G : Tchouang Pao unus ex regni Thsi ministris.

(2) D : Sermonem habuit de rudi illâ et recentiori quâ delectabatur musicâ.

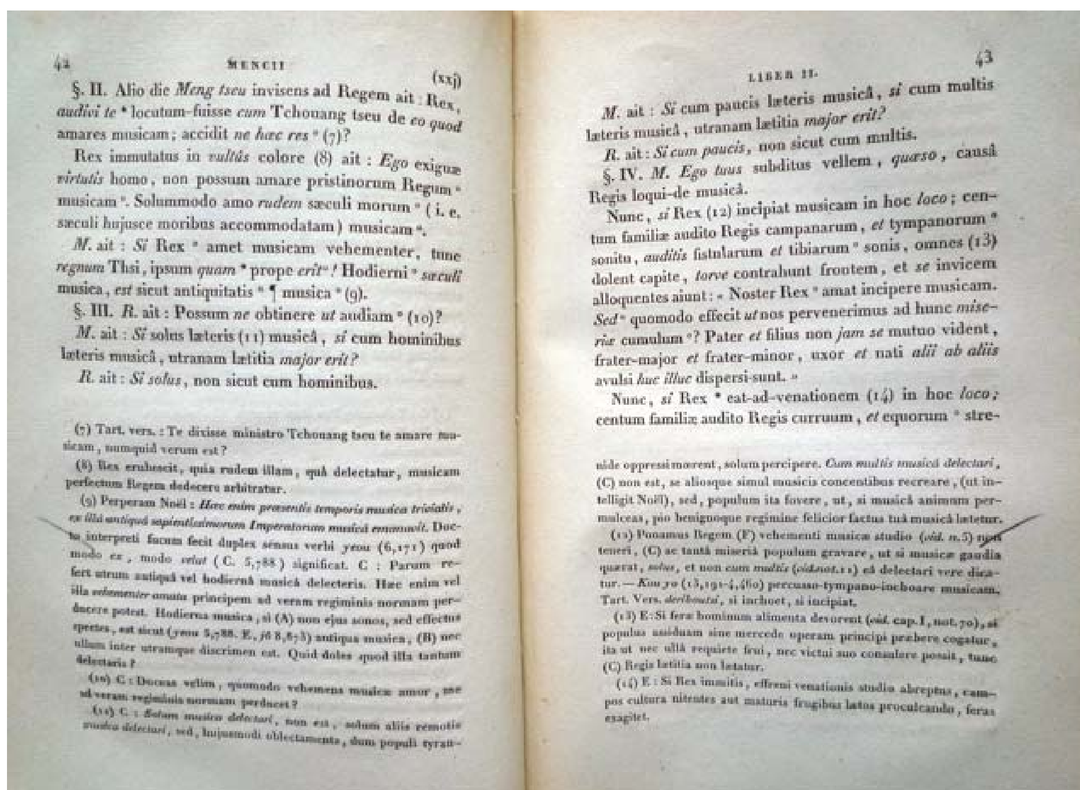
(3) D : Porro Pao sciens vulgarem illam musicam, non esse regis studio dignam, volebat eum vituperare, sed ei verba objurgationi idonea defuerunt. Ideo adiit Meng tseu ac eum sciscitatus est.

(4) H : Pao se ipsum interrogans ait : si Rex (C) delectetur musicâ nonne timendum est ne illud studium regni administrationi damnum inferat?

(5) C : Musicæ amor minime obest bono regimini; solummodo dolendum esset si Rex eam non vehementer amaret. — *Amare musicam vehementer*, non est musicæ studio vehementer capi, sed eam ita *amare*, ut populi benigno regimine recreati etiam musicæ oblectamine frui possint.

(6) Turbidi animi musicâ demulsi quiescent, ac regnum Thsi (G) ad optimum regimen proxime accedet! — Perperam Noël *numquid accedet?* Mencius enim non interrogare ministrum Pao sed ejus dubia depellere intendit.

Pages 40 & 41: lines only on p. 40



42 MENCII (xxj)

§. II. Alio die *Meng tseu* invisens ad Regem ait: Rex, *audivi te* * locutum-fuisse *cum* Tchouang tseu de *eo quod* amares musicam; accidit *ne hæc res* * (7)?

Rex immutatus in *vultûs* colore (8) ait: *Ego* exiguæ *virtutis* homo, non possum amare pristinorum Regum * musicam *. Solummodo amo *rudem* sæculi morum * (i. e. sæculi hujusce moribus accommodatam) musicam *.

M. ait: *Si* Rex * amet musicam vehementer, tunc *regnum* Thsi, ipsum *quam* * prope *erit* *! Hodierni * *sæculi* musica, *est* sicut antiquitatis * ¶ musica * (9).

§. III. *R.* ait: Possum *ne* obtinere *ut* audiam * (10)?

M. ait: *Si* solus læteris (11) musicâ, *si* cum hominibus læteris musicâ, utranam lætitia *major erit?*

R. ait: *Si solus*, non sicut cum hominibus.

(7) Tart. vers.: Te dixisse ministro Tchouang tseu te amare musicam, numquid verum est?

(8) Rex erubescit, quia rudem illam, quâ delectatur, musicam perfectum Regem dedecere arbitratur.

(9) Perperam Noël: *Hæc enim præsentis temporis musica trivialis, ex illâ antiquâ sapientissimorum Imperatorum musicâ emanavit.* Docto interpreti fucum fecit duplex sensus verbi *yeou* (6,171) quod modo *ex*, modo *velut* (C. 5,788) significat. C: Parum refert utrum antiquâ vel hodiernâ musicâ delecteris. Hæc enim vel illa *vehementer amata* principem ad veram regiminis normam perducere potest. Hodierna musica, si (A) non ejus sonos, sed effectus spectes, est sicut (*yeou* 5,788. E. *jô* 8,873) antiqua musica, (B) nec ullum inter utramque discrimen est. Quid doles quod illa tantum delectaris?

(10) C: Doceas velim, quomodo vehemens musicæ amor, me ad veram regiminis normam perducet?

(11) C: *Solum musicâ delectari*, non est, solum aliis remotis musicâ delectari, sed, hujusmodi oblectamenta, dum populi tyran-

LIBER II. 43

M. ait: *Si* cum paucis læteris musicâ, *si* cum multis læteris musicâ, utranam lætitia *major erit?*

R. ait: *Si cum paucis*, non sicut cum multis.

§. IV. *M. Ego tuus* subditus vellem, *quæso*, causâ Regis loqui-de musicâ.

Nunc, *si* Rex (12) incipiat musicam in hoc *loco*; centum familiæ audito Regis campanarum, *et* tympanorum * sonitu, *auditis* fistularum *et* tibiarum * sonis, omnes (13) dolent capite, *torve* contrahunt frontem, et *se* invicem alloquentes aiunt: « Noster Rex * amat incipere musicam. *Sed* * quomodo effecit *ut* nos pervenerimus ad hunc *miseriæ* cumulum *? Pater *et* filius non *jam se* mutuo vident, frater-major *et* frater-minor, uxor *et* nati *alii ab aliis* avulsi *huc illuc* dispersi-sunt. »

Nunc, *si* Rex * eat-ad-venationem (14) in hoc *loco*; centum familiæ audito Regis curruum, *et* equorum * stre-

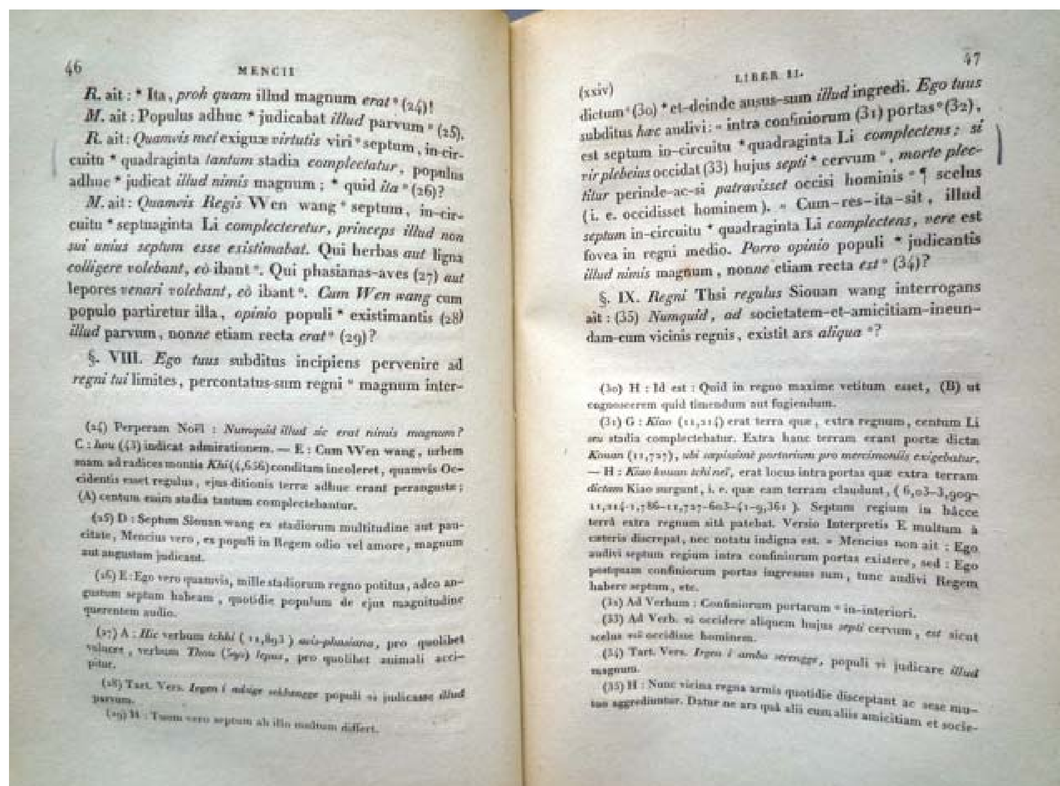
nide oppressi mœrent, solum percipere. *Cum multis musicâ delectari*, (C) non est, se aliosque simul musicis concentibus recreare, (ut intelligit Noël), sed, populum ita fovere, ut, si musicâ animum permulceas, pio benignoque regimine felicior factus tuâ musicâ lætetur.

(12) Ponamus Regem (F) vehementi musicæ studio (*vid. n.* 5) non teneri, (C) ac tantâ miseriâ populum gravare, ut si musicæ gaudia quærat, *solus*, et non cum *multis* (*vid. not.* 11) eâ delectari vere dicatur. — *Kiu yo* (13,191-4,460) percusso-tympano-inchoare musicam. Tart. Vers. *deribouti*, si inchoet, si incipiat.

(13) E: Si feræ hominum alimenta devorent (*vid.* cap. I, not. 70), si populus assiduam sine mercede operam principi præbere cogatur, ita ut nec ullâ requiete frui, nec victui suo consulere possit, tunc (C) Regis lætitia non lætatur.

(14) E: Si Rex immitis, effreni venationis studio abreptus, campos cultura nitentes aut maturis frugibus latos proculcando, feras exagitet.

Pages 42 & 43: “non” struck out on p. 43; smudge only on p. 42



46 MENCII

R. ait: * Ita, *proh quam* illud magnum *erat* * (24)!

M. ait: Populus adhuc * judicabat *illud* parvum * (25).

R. ait: *Quamvis mei* exiguæ *virtutis* viri * septum, in-circuitu * quadraginta *tantum* stadia *complectatur*, populus adhuc * judicat *illud nimis* magnum; * quid *ita* * (26)?

M. ait: *Quamvis Regis* Wen wang * septum, in-circuitu * septuaginta Li *complecteretur, princeps illud non sui unius septum esse existimabat.* Qui herbas *aut* ligna *colligere volebant*, eò ibant *. Qui phasianas-aves (27) *aut* lepores *venari volebant*, eò ibant *. *Cum Wen wang* cum populo partiretur illa, *opinio* populi * existimantis (28) *illud* parvum, nonne etiam recta *erat* * (29)?

§. VIII. *Ego tuus* subditus incipiens pervenire ad *regni tui* limites, percontatus-sum regni * magnum inter-

(24) Perperam Noël: *Numquid illud sic erat nimis magnum?* C: *hou* (43) indicat admirationem. — E: Cum Wen wang, urbem suam ad radices montis *Khi* (4,656) conditam incoleret, quamvis Occidentis esset regulus, ejus ditionis terræ adhuc erant perangustæ; (A) centum enim stadia tantum complectebantur.

(25) D: Septum Siouan wang ex stadiorum multitudine aut paucitate, Mencius vero, ex populi in Regem odio vel amore, magnum aut angustum judicant.

(26) E: Ego vero quamvis, mille stadiorum regno potitus, adeo angustum septum habeam, quotidie populum de ejus magnitudine querentem audio.

(27) A: *Hic* verbum *tchhi* (11,893) *avis-phasiana*, pro quolibet volucre, verbum *Thou* (290) *lepus*, pro quolibet animali accipitur.

(28) Tart. Vers. *Irgen i adzige sehengge* populi ei judicasse *illud* parvum.

(29) H: Tuum vero septum ab illo multum differt.

(xxiv) LIBER II. 47

dictum * (30) * et-deinde ausus-sum *illud* ingredi. *Ego tuus* subditus *hæc* audivi: « intra confiniorum (31) portas * (32), est septum in-circuitu * quadraginta Li *complectens; si vir plebeius* occidat (33) hujus *septi* * cervum *, *morte plectitur* perinde-ac-si *patravisset* occisi hominis * ¶ scelus (i. e. occidisset hominem). » Cum-res-ita-sit, illud *septum* in-circuitu * quadraginta Li *complectens, vere est* fovea in regni medio. *Porro opinio* populi * judicantis *illud nimis* magnum, nonne etiam recta *est* * (34)?

§. IX. *Regni* Thsi *regulus* Siouan wang interrogans ait: (35) *Numquid*, *ad* societatem-et-amicitiam-ineundam-cum vicinis regnis, existit ars *aliqua* *?

(30) H: Id est: Quid in regno maxime vetitum esset, (B) ut cognoscerem quid timendum aut fugiendum.

(31) G: *Kiao* (11,214) erat terra quæ, extra regnum, centum Li seu stadia complectebatur. Extra hanc terram erant portæ dictæ *Kouan* (11,727), *ubi sæpissimè portorium pro mercimoniis exigebatur.* — H: *Kiao kouan tchi nei*, erat locus intra portas quæ extra terram *dictam* Kiao surgunt, i. e. quæ eam terram claudunt, (6,03-3,909-11,214-1,786-11,727-603-41-9,361). Septum regium in hâcce terrâ extra regnum sitâ patebat. Versio Interpretis E multum à cæteris discrepat, nec notatu indigna est. « Mencius non ait: Ego audivi septum regium intra confiniorum portas existere, sed: Ego postquam confiniorum portas ingressus sum, tunc audivi Regem habere septum, etc.

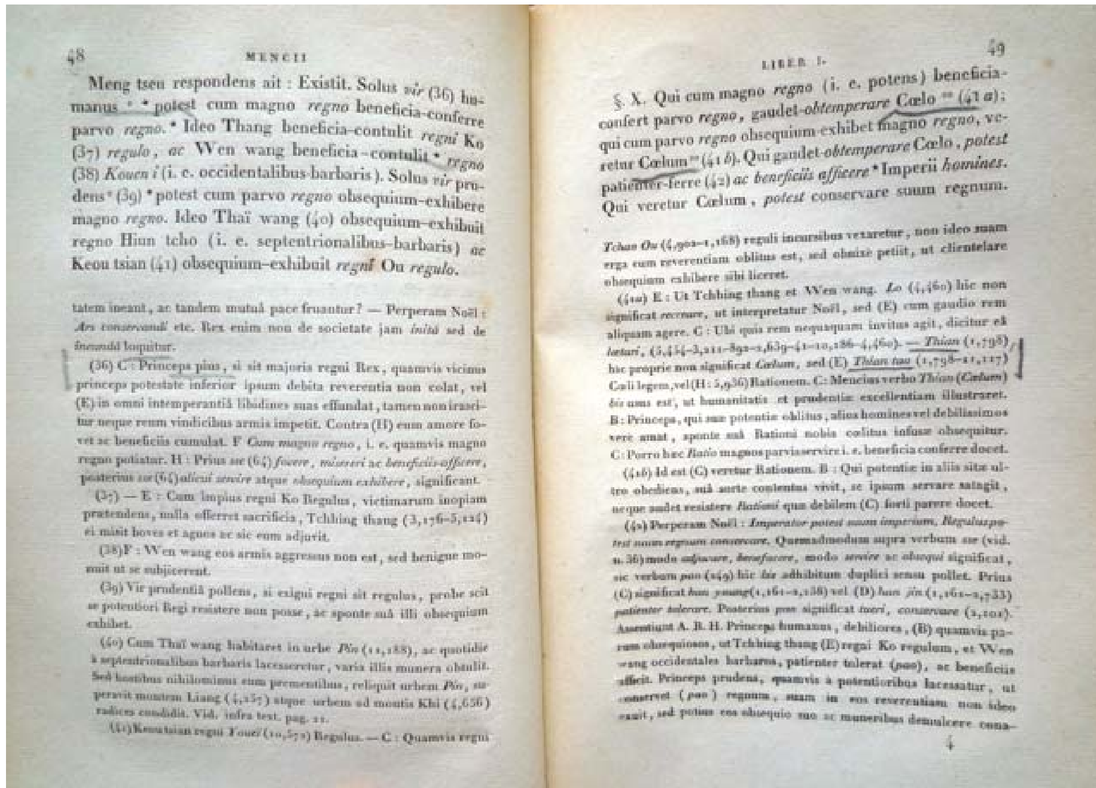
(32) Ad Verbum: Confiniorum portarum * in-interiori.

(33) Ad Verb. si occidere aliquem hujus *septi* cervum, *est* sicut scelus est occidisse hominem.

(34) Tart. Vers. *Irgen i amba serengge*, populi ei judicare *illud* magnum.

(35) H: Nunc vicina regna armis quotidie disceptant ac sese mutuo aggrediuntur. Datur ne ars quâ alii cum aliis amicitiam et socie-

Pages 46 & 47: line only in margin of p. 47



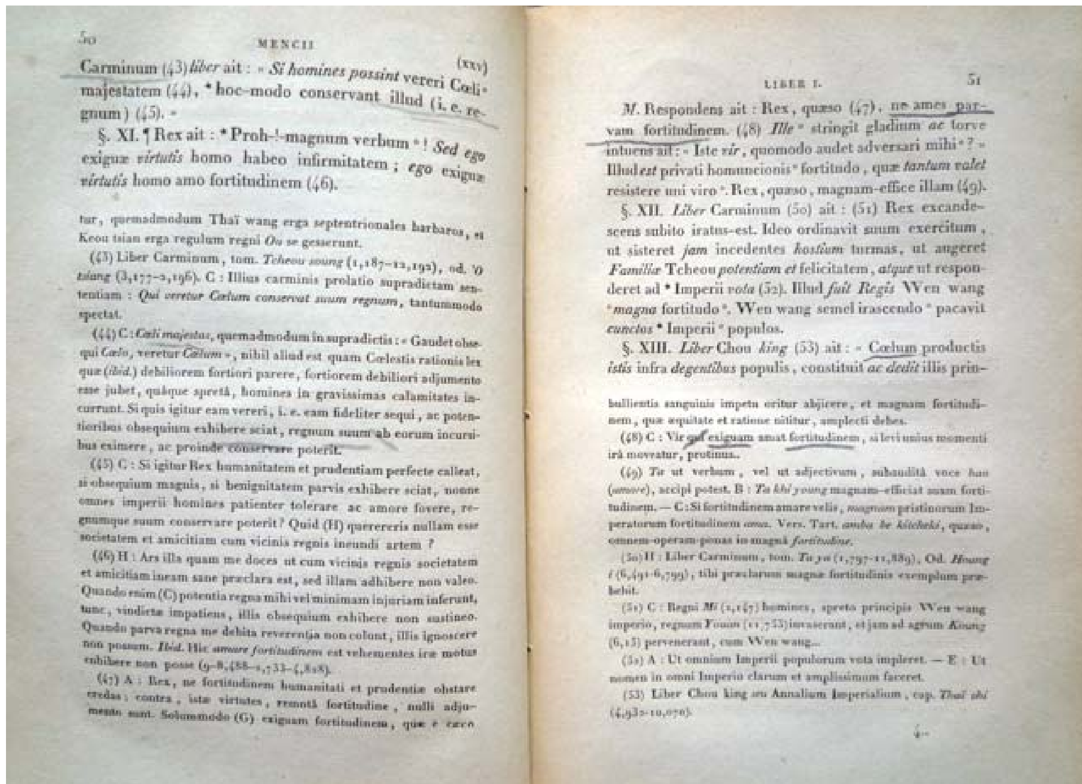
48 MENCII

Meng tseu respondens ait : Existit. Solus *vir* (36) humanus * *potest cum magno *regno* beneficia-conferre parvo *regno*. * Ideo Thang beneficia-contulit *regni* Ko (37) *regulo*, *ac* Wen wang beneficia-contulit * *regno* (38) *Kouen i* (i. e. occidentalibus-barbaris). Solus *vir* prudens * (39) * potest cum parvo *regno* obsequium-exhibere magno *regno*. Ideo Thaï wang (40) obsequium-exhibuit regno Hiun tcho (i. e. septentrionalibus-barbaris) *ac* Keou tsian (41) obsequium-exhibuit *regni* Ou *regulo*.

LIBER I. 49

§. X. Qui cum magno *regno* (i. e. potens) beneficia-confert parvo *regno*, gaudet-*obtemperare* Cælo ** (41 *a*); qui cum parvo *regno* obsequium-exhibet magno *regno*, veretur Cælum ** (41 *b*). Qui gaudet-*obtemperare* Cælo, *potest* patienter-ferre (42) *ac beneficiis afficere* * Imperii *homines*. Qui veretur Cælum, *potest* conservare suum regnum.

Pages 48 & 49: lines only on p. 49



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Carminum (43) *liber* ait : « *Si homines possint* vereri Cœli * majestatem (44), * hoc-modo conservant illud (i. e. regnum) (45). »

§. XI. ¶ Rex ait : * Proh-!-magnum verbum * ! *Sed ego* exiguæ *virtutis* homo habeo infirmitatem ; *ego* exiguæ *virtutis* homo amo fortitudinem (46).

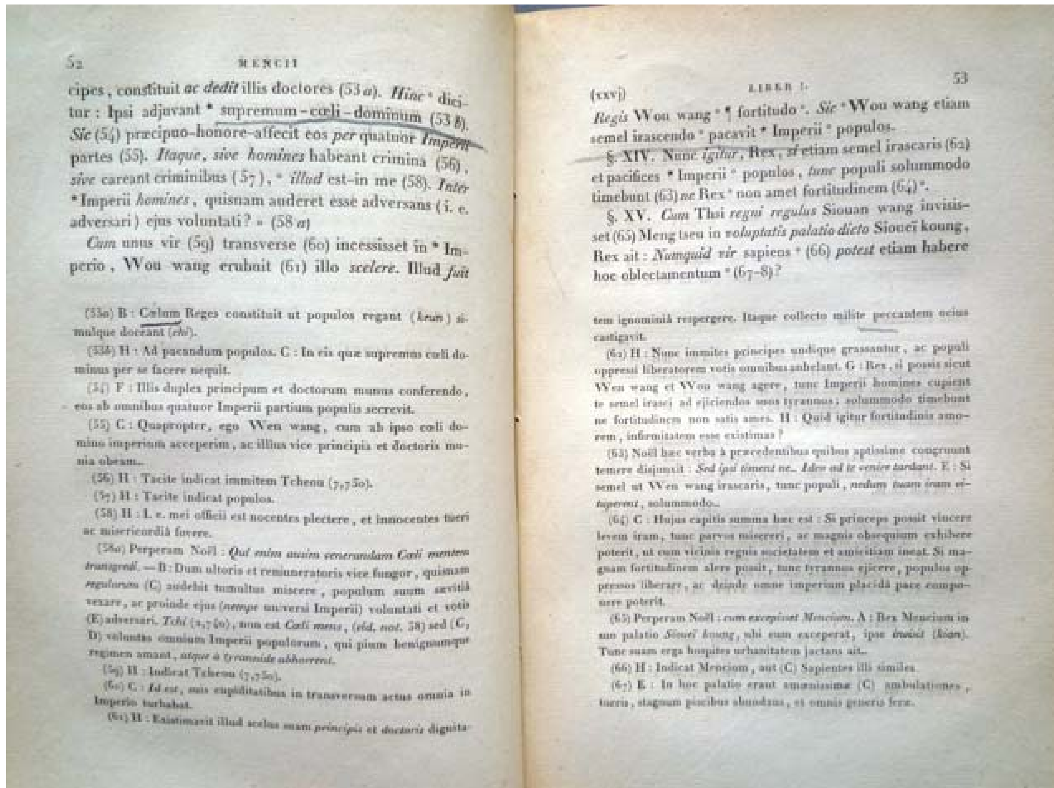
LIBER I. 51

M. Respondens ait : Rex, quæso (47), ne ames parvam fortitudinem. (48) *Ille* * stringit gladium *ac* torve intuens ait : « Iste *vir*, quomodo audet adversari mihi * ? » Illud *est* privati homuncionis * fortitudo, quæ *tantum valet* resistere uni viro *. Rex, quæso, magnam-effice illam (49).

§. XII. *Liber* Carminum (50) ait : (51) Rex excandescens subito iratus-est. Ideo ordinavit suum exercitum, ut sisteret *jam* incedentes *hostium* turmas, ut augeret *Familiæ* Tcheou *potentiam et* felicitatem, *atque* ut responderet ad * Imperii *vota* (52). Illud *fuit Regis* Wen wang * *magna* fortitudo *. Wen wang semel irascendo * pacavit *cunctos* * Imperii * populos.

§. XIII. *Liber* Chou *king* (53) ait : « Cœlum productis *istis* infra *degentibus* populis, constituit *ac dedit* illis prin-

Pages 50 & 51: "qui" struck out on p. 51; lines only on p. 51



52 MENCII

cipes, constituit *ac dedit* illis doctores (53 *a*). *Hinc* * dicitur : Ipsi adjuvant * supremum-cœli-dominum (53 *b*). *Sic* (54) præcipuo-honore-affecit eos *per* quatuor *Imperii* partes (55). *Itaque*, *sive homines* habeant crimina (56), *sive* careant criminibus (57), * *illud* est-in me (58). *Inter* *Imperii *homines*, quisnam auderet esse adversans (i. e. adversari) ejus voluntati? » (58 *a*)

Cum unus vir (59) transverse (60) incessisset in * Imperio, Wou wang erubuit (61) illo *scelere*. Illud *fuit*

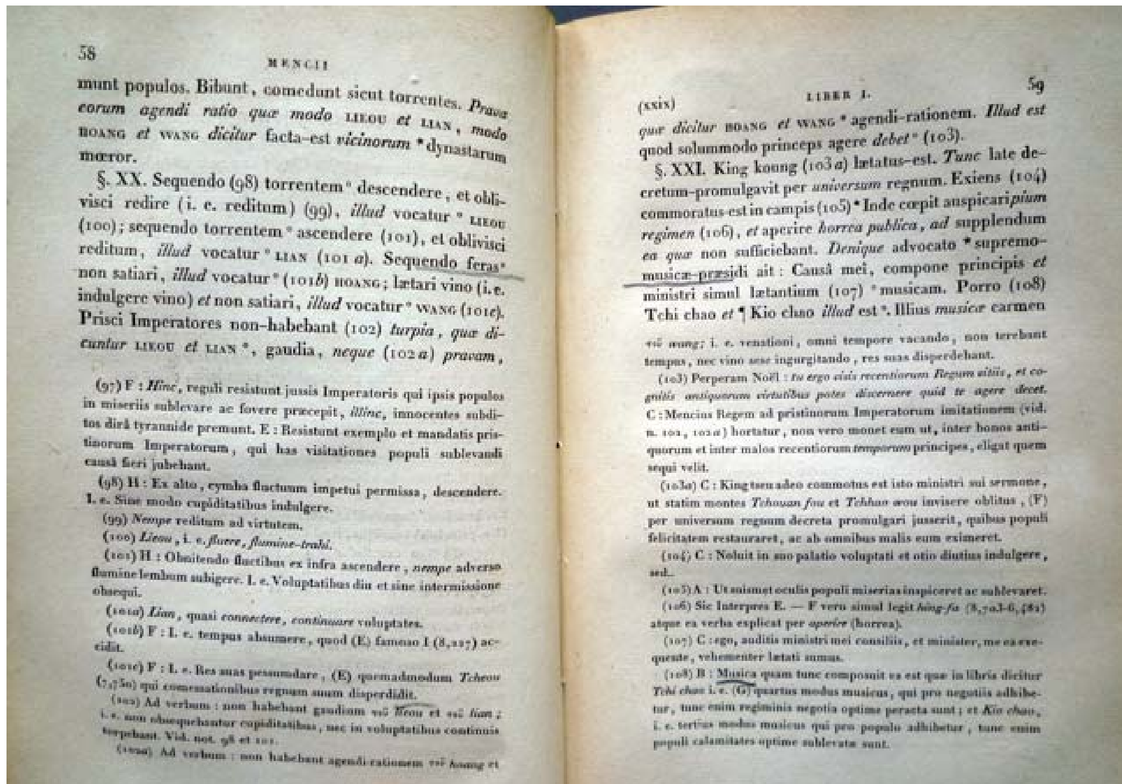
(xxvj) LIBER I. 53

Regis Wou wang * ¶ fortitudo *. *Sic* * Wou wang etiam semel irascendo * pacavit * Imperii * populos.

§. XIV. Nunc *igitur*, Rex, *si* etiam semel irascaris (62) et pacifices * Imperii * populos, *tunc* populi solummodo timebunt (63) *ne* Rex * non amet fortitudinem (64) *.

§. XV. *Cum* Thsi *regni regulus* Siouan wang invisisset (65) Meng tseu in *voluptatis palatio dicto* Siouei koung, Rex ait : *Numquid vir* sapiens * (66) *potest* etiam habere hoc oblectamentum * (67-8)?

Pages 52 & 53: underlines only on p. 52



58 MENCII

munt populos. Bibunt, comedunt sicut torrentes. *Prava eorum agendi ratio quæ modo* LIEOU *et* LIAN, *modo* HOANG *et* WANG *dicitur* facta-est *vicinorum* * dynastarum mœror.

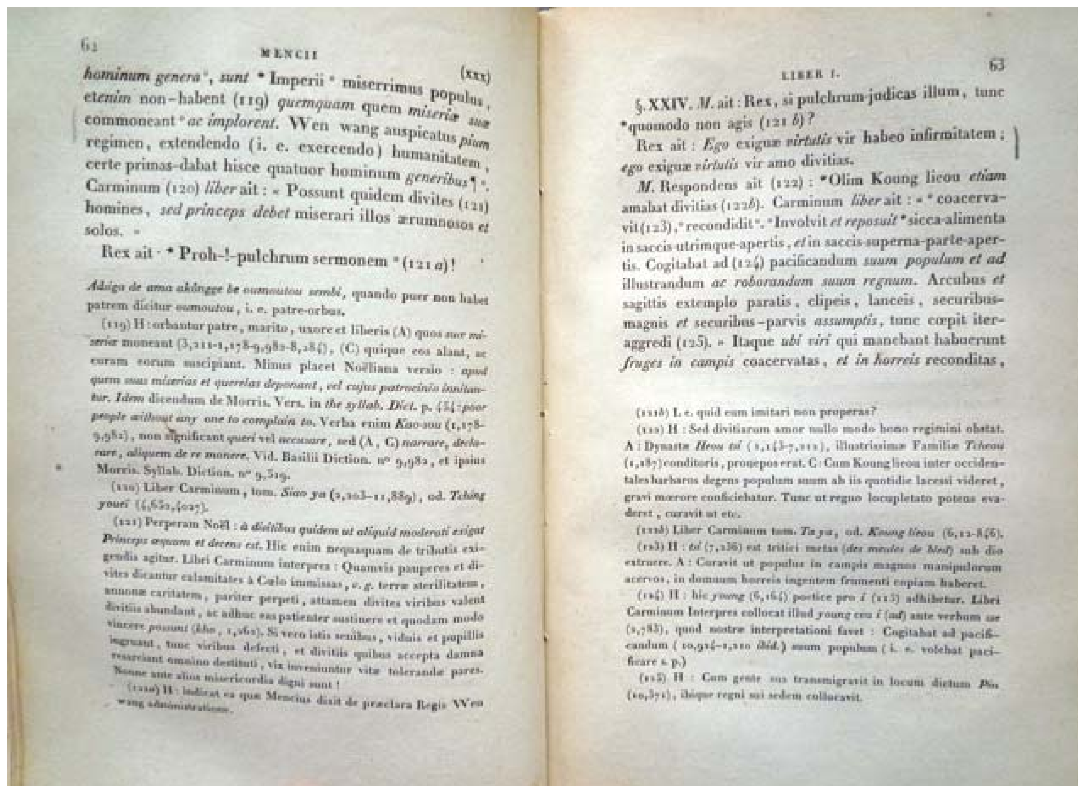
§. XX. Sequendo (98) torrentem * descendere, et oblivisci redire (i. e. reditum) (99), *illud* vocatur * LIEOU (100); sequendo torrentem * ascendere (101), et oblivisci reditum, *illud* vocatur * LIAN (101 *a*). Sequendo feras * non satiari, *illud* vocatur * (101 *b*) HOANG; lætari vino (i. e. indulgere vino) *et* non satiari, *illud* vocatur * WANG (101 *c*). Prisci Imperatores non-habebant (102) *turpia*, *quæ dicuntur* LIEOU *et* LIAN *, gaudia, *neque* (102 *a*) *pravam*,

(xxix) LIBER I. 59

quæ dicitur HOANG *et* WANG * agendi-rationem. *Illud est* quod solummodo princeps agere *debet* * (103).

§. XXI. King koung (103 *a*) lætatus-est. *Tunc* late decretum-promulgavit per *universum* regnum. Exiens (104) commoratus-est in campis (105) * Inde cœpit auspicari *pium regimen* (106), *et* aperire *horrea publica*, *ad* supplendum *ea quæ* non sufficiebant. *Denique* advocato * supremo-musicæ-præsidi ait : Causâ mei, compone principis *et* ministri simul lætantium (107) * musicam. Porro (108) Tchi chao *et* ¶ Kio chao *illud* est *. Illius *musicæ* carmen

Pages 58 & 59: lines only on p. 59



62 MENCII (xxx)

hominum genera°, *sunt* * Imperii ° miserrimus populus, etenim non-habent (119) *quemquam* quem *miseriæ suæ* commoneant ° *ac implorent*. Wen wang auspicatus *pium* regimen, extendendo (i. e. exercendo) humanitatem, certe primas-dabat hisce quatuor hominum *generibus*¶°. Carminum (120) *liber* ait: « Possunt quidem divites (121) homines, *sed princeps debet* miserari illos ærumnosos *et* solos. »

Rex ait: * Proh-!-pulchrum sermonem ° (121 *a*)!

Adsiga de ama akdingge be oumoutou sembi, quando puer non habet patrem dicitur *oumoutou*, i. e. patre-orbus.

(119) H: orbantur patre, marito, uxore et liberis (A) quos *suæ miseriæ* moneant (3,211-1,178-9,982-8,284), (C) quique eos alant, ac curam eorum suscipiant. Minus placet Noëliana versio: *apud quem suas miserias et querelas deponant, vel cujus patrocinio innitantur. Idem* dicendum de Morris. Vers. in *the syllab. Dict.* p. 434: *poor people without any one to complain to.* Verba enim *Kao-sou* (1,178-9,982), non significant *queri* vel *accusare*, sed (A, C) *narrare, declarare, aliquem de re monere.* Vid. Basilii Diction. n° 9,982, et ipsius Morris. Syllab. Diction. n° 9,519.

(120) Liber Carminum, tom. *Siao ya* (2,103-11,889), od. *Tching youei* (4,652,4027).

(121) Perperam Noël: *à divitibus quidem ut aliquid moderati exigat Princeps æquum et decens est.* Hic enim nequaquam de tributis exigendis agitur. Libri Carminum interpres: Quamvis pauperes et divites dicantur calamitates à Cœlo immissas, *e. g.* terræ sterilitatem, annonæ caritatem, pariter perpeti, attamen divites viribus valent divitiis abundant, ac adhuc eas patienter sustinere et quodam modo vincere possunt (khe, 1,262). Si vero istis senibus, viduis et pupillis ingruant, tunc viribus defecti, et divitiis quibus accepta damna resarciant omnino destituti, via inveniuntur vitæ tolerandæ pares. Nonne ante alios misericordia digni sunt!

(121a) H: indicat ea quæ Mencius dixit de præclara Regis Wen wang administratione.

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§. XXIV. *M.* ait: Rex, si pulchrum-judicas illum, tunc *quomodo non agis (121 *b*)?

Rex ait: *Ego* exiguæ *virtutis* vir habeo infirmitatem; *ego* exiguæ *virtutis* vir amo divitias.

M. Respondens ait (122): *Olim Koung lieou *etiam* amabat divitias (122*b*). Carminum *liber* ait: « * coacervavit (123), * recondidit °. * Involvit *et reposuit* * sicca-alimenta in saccis utrimque-apertis, *et* in saccis-superna-parte-apertis. Cogitabat ad (124) pacificandum *suum populum et ad* illustrandum *ac roborandum suum regnum*. Arcubus *et* sagittis extemplo paratis, clipeis, lanceis, securibus-magnis *et* securibus-parvis *assumptis*, tunc cœpit iter-aggredi (125). » Itaque *ubi viri* qui manebant habuerunt *fruges in campis* coacervatas, *et in horreis reconditas*,

(121*b*) I. e. quid eum imitari non properas?

(122) H: Sed divitiarum amor nullo modo bono regimini obstat. A: Dynastiæ *Heou tsi* (3,143-7,212), illustrissimæ Familiæ *Tcheou* (1,187) conditoris, pronepos erat. C: Cum Koung lieou inter occidentales barbaros degens populum suum ab iis quotidie lacessi videret, gravi mœrore conficiebatur. Tunc ut regno locupletato potens evaderet, curavit ut etc.

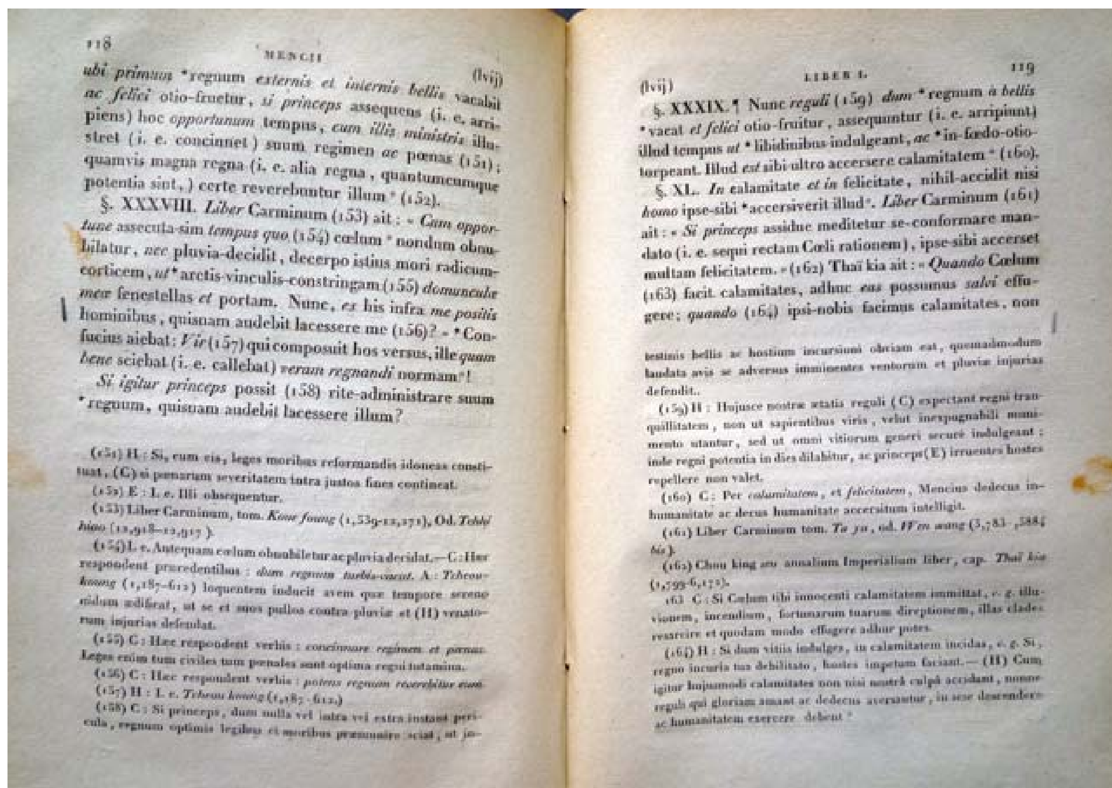
(122*b*) Liber Carminum tom. *Ta ya*, od. *Koung lieou* (6,12-8,46).

(123) H: *tsi* (7,136) est tritici metas (*des meules de bled*) sub dio extruere. A: Curavit ut populus in campis magnos manipulorum acervos, in domuum horreis ingentem frumenti copiam haberet.

(124) H: hic *young* (6,164) poetice pro *i* (115) adhibetur. Libri Carminum Interpres collocat illud *young* seu *i* (*ad*) ante verbum *se* (2,783), quod nostræ interpretationi favet: Cogitabat ad pacificandum (10,924-1,210 *ibid.*) suum populum (i. e. volebat pacificare s. p.)

(125) H: Cum gente sua transmigravit in locum dictum *Pin* (10,371), ibique regni sui sedem collocavit.

Pages 62 & 63: only one line in right margin of p. 63



118 MENCII (lvij)

ubi primum *regnum *externis et internis bellis* vacabit *ac felici* otio-fruetur, *si princeps* assequens (i. e. arripiens) hoc *opportunum* tempus, *cum illis ministris* illustret (i. e. concinnet) suum regimen *ac* pœnas (151); quamvis magna regna (i. e. alia regna, quantumcumque potentia sint,) certe reverebuntur illum ° (152).

§. XXXVIII. *Liber* Carminum (153) ait: « *Cum opportune* assecuta-sim *tempus quo* (154) cœlum ° nondum obnubilatur, *nec* pluvia-decidit, decerpo istius mori radicum corticem, *ut* * arctis-vinculis-constringam (155) *domunculæ meæ* fenestellas *et* portam. Nunc, *ex* his infra *me positis* hominibus, quisnam audebit lacessere me (156)? » * Confucius aiebat: *Vir* (157) qui composuit hos versus, ille *quam bene* sciebat (i. e. callebat) *veram regnandi* normam °!

Si igitur princeps possit (158) rite-administrare suum * regnum, quisnam audebit lacessere illum?

(151) H: Si, cum eis, leges moribus reformandis idoneas constituat, (C) si pœnarum severitatem intra justos fines contineat.

(152) E: I. e. Illi obsequentur.

(153) Liber Carminum, tom. *Koue foung* (1,539-12,271), Od. *Tchhi hiao* (12,918-12,917).

(154) I. e. Antequam cœlum obnubiletur ac pluvia decidat. — C: Hæc respondent præcedentibus: *dum regnum turbis-vacat.* A: *Tcheou-koung* (1,187-612) loquentem inducit avem quæ tempore sereno nidum ædificat, ut se et suos pullos contra pluviæ et (H) venatorum injurias defendat.

(155) C: Hæc respondent verbis: *concinnare regimen et pœnas.* Leges enim tum civiles tum pœnales sunt optima regni tutamina.

(156) C: Hæc respondent verbis: *potens regnum reverebitur eum.*

(157) H: I. e. *Tcheou koung* (1,187-612.)

(158) C: Si princeps, dum nulla vel intra vel extra instant pericula, regnum optimis legibus et moribus præmunire sciat, ut ja-

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(lvij)

§. XXXIX. ¶ Nunc *reguli* (159) *dum* * regnum *à bellis* * vacat *et felici* otio-fruitur, assequuntur (i. e. arripiunt) illud tempus *ut* * libidinibus indulgeant, *ac* * in-fœdo-otio-torpeant. Illud *est* sibi-ultro accersere calamitatem ° (160).

§. XL. *In* calamitate *et in* felicitate, nihil-accidit nisi *homo* ipse-sibi * accersiverit illud °. *Liber* Carminum (161) ait: « *Si princeps* assidue meditetur se-conformare mandato (i. e. sequi rectam Cœli rationem), ipse-sibi accerset multam felicitatem. » (162) Thaï kia ait: « *Quando* Cœlum (163) facit calamitates, adhuc *eas* possumus *salvi* effugere; *quando* (164) ipsi-nobis facimus calamitates, non

testinis bellis ac hostium incursioni obviam eat, quemadmodum laudata avis se adversus imminentes ventorum et pluviæ injurias defendit.

(159) H: Hujusce nostræ ætatis reguli (C) expectant regni tranquillitatem, non ut sapientibus viris, velut inexpugnabili munimento utantur, sed ut omni vitiorum generi securè indulgeant; inde regni potentia in dies dilabitur, ac princeps (E) irruentes hostes repellere non valet.

(160) C: Per *calamitatem*, et *felicitatem*, Mencius dedecus inhumanitate ac decus humanitate accersitum intelligit.

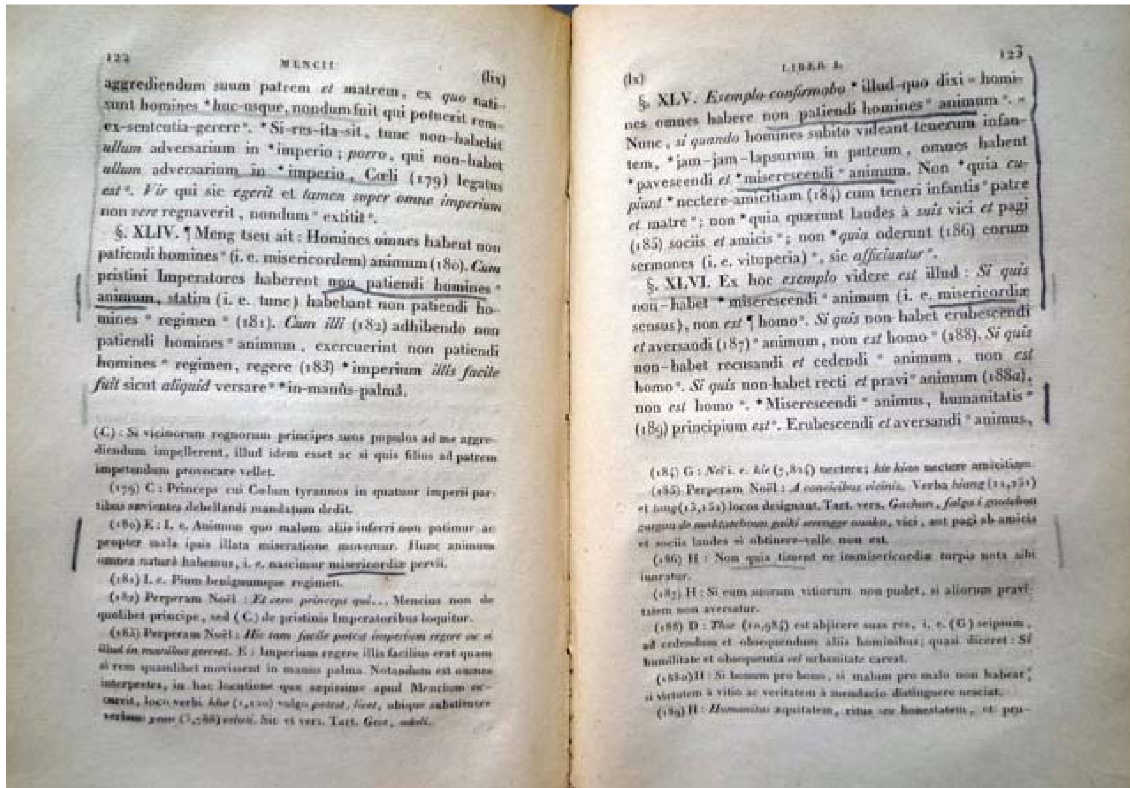
(161) Liber Carminum tom. *Ta ya*, od. *Wen wang* (3,783-,3884 *bis*).

(162) Chou king seu annalium Imperialium liber, cap. *Thaï kia* (1,799-6,172).

(163) C: Si Cœlum tibi innocenti calamitatem immittat, *e. g.* illuvionem, incendium, fortunarum tuarum direptionem, illas clades resarcire et quodam modo effugere adhuc potes.

(164) H: Si dum vitiis indulges, in calamitatem incidas, *e. g.* Si, regno incuria tua debilitato, hostes impetum faciant. — (H) Cum igitur hujusmodi calamitates non nisi nostrâ culpâ accidant, nonne reguli qui gloriam amant ac dedecus aversantur, in sese descendere ac humanitatem exercere debent °

Pages 118 & 119: only one line in left margin of p. 118



122 MENCII (lix)

aggrediendum suum patrem *et* matrem, ex *quo* nati sunt homines *huc-usque, nondum fuit qui potuerit rem-ex-sententia-gerere*. *Si-res-ita-sit, tunc non-habebit *ullum* adversarium in *imperio; *porro*, qui non-habet *ullum* adversarium in *imperio, Cœli (179) legatus *est**. *Vir* qui sic *egerit* et *tamen super omne imperium* non *vere* regnaverit, nondum* extitit*.

§. XLIV. ¶ Meng tseu ait: Homines omnes habent non patiendi homines* (i. e. misericordem) animum (180). *Cum* pristini Imperatores haberent non patiendi homines* animum, statim (i. e. tunc) habebant non patiendi homines* regimen* (181). *Cum illi* (182) adhibendo non patiendi homines* animum, exercuerint non patiendi homines* regimen, regere (183) *imperium *illis facile fuit* sicut *aliquid* versare* *in-manûs-palmâ.

(C): Si vicinorum regnorum principes suos populos ad me aggrediendum impellerent, illud idem esset ac si quis filios ad patrem impetendum provocare vellet.

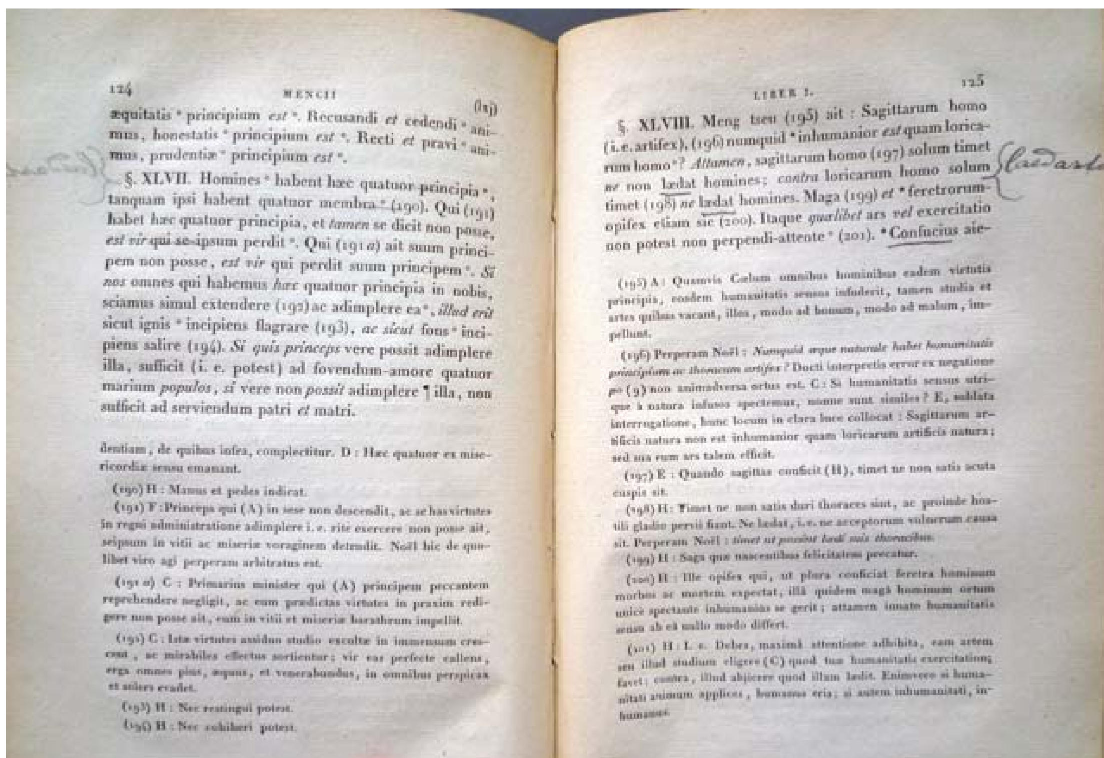
(179) C: Princeps cui Cœlum tyrannos in quatuor imperii par-...

123 LIBER I. (lx)

§. XLV. *Exemplo confirmabo* *illud-quo dixi* homines omnes habere non patiendi homines* animum*. Nunc, *si quando* homines subito videant tenerum infantem, *jam-jam-lapsurum in puteum, omnes habent *pavescendi *et* *miserescendi* animum. Non *quia cupiant* nectere-amicitiam (184) cum teneri infantis* patre *et* matre*; non *quia quærunt laudes à *suis* vici *et* pagi (185) sociis *et* amicis*; non *quia* oderunt (186) eorum sermones (i. e. vituperia)*, sic *afficiuntur**.

§. XLVI. Ex hoc *exemplo* videre *est* illud: *Si quis* non-habet *miserescendi* animum (i. e. misericordiæ sensus), non *est* ¶ homo*. *Si quis* non-habet erubescendi *et* aversandi (187)* animum, non *est* homo* (188). *Si quis* non-habet recusandi *et* cedendi* animum, non *est* homo*. *Si quis* non-habet recti *et* pravi* animum (188*a*), non *est* homo*. *Miserescendi* animus, humanitatis* (189) principium *est**. Erubescendi *et* aversandi* animus,

Pages 122 & 123: on p. 122 underlined "non patiendi homines animum" and "misericordiae"; short lines in left margin of p. 122 only where underlined words are. On p. 123 are underlined: "non patiendi homines animum", "miserescendi animum", "misericordiae"



124 MENCII (lxi)

æquitatis* principium *est**. Recusandi *et* cedendi* animus, honestatis* principium *est**. Recti *et* pravi* animus, prudentiæ* principium *est**.

§. XLVII. Homines* habent hæc quatuor principia*, tanquam ipsi habent quatuor membra* (190). Qui (191) habet hæc quatuor principia, et *tamen* se dicit non posse, *est vir* qui se-ipsum perdit*. Qui (191 *a*) ait suum principem non posse, *est vir* qui perdit suum principem*. *Si nos* omnes qui habemus *hæc* quatuor principia in nobis, sciamus simul extendere (192) ac adimplere ea*, *illud erit* sicut ignis* incipiens flagrare (193), *ac sicut* fons* incipiens salire (194). *Si quis princeps* vere possit adimplere illa, sufficit (i. e. potest) ad fovendum-amore quatuor marium *populos*, *si* vere non *possit* adimplere ¶ illa, non sufficit ad serviendum patri *et* matri.

dentiam, de quibus infra, complectitur. D: Hæc quatuor ex misericordiæ sensu emanant.

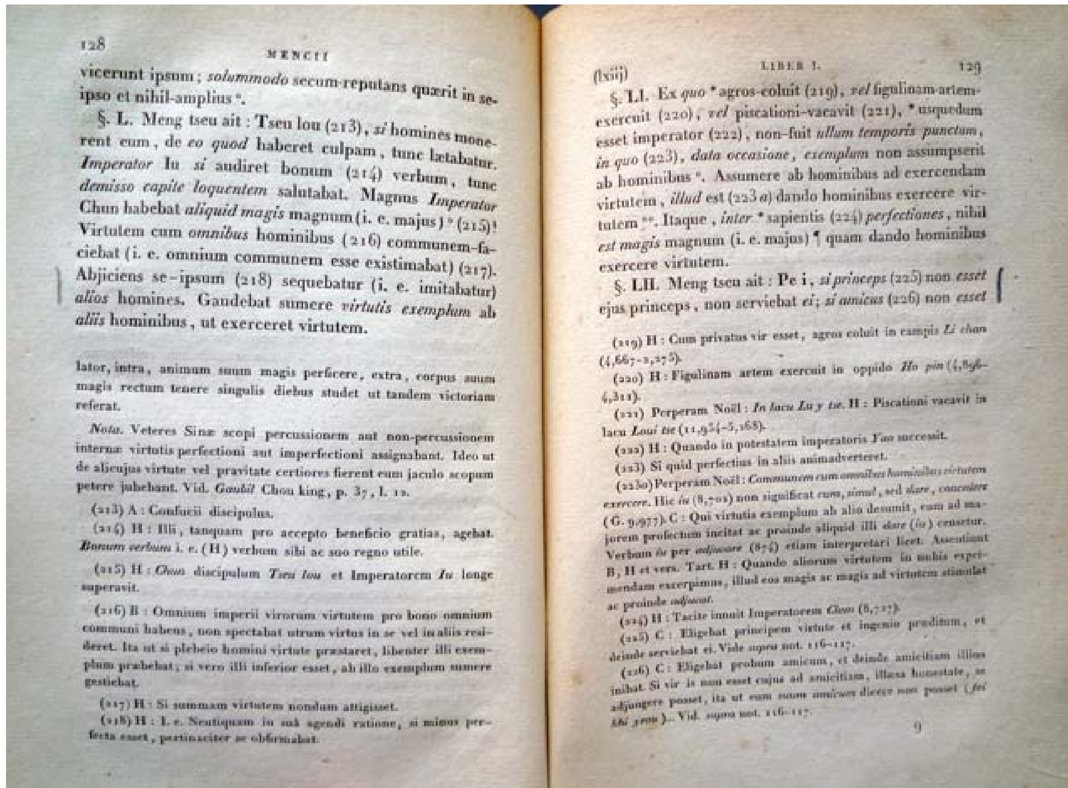
(190) H: Manus et pedes indicat.

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§. XLVIII. Meng tseu (195) ait: Sagittarum homo (i. e. artifex), (196) numquid *inhumanior *est* quam loricarum homo*? *Attamen*, sagittarum homo (197) solum timet *ne* non lædat homines; *contra* loricarum homo solum timet (198) *ne* lædat homines. Maga (199) *et* *feretrorum-opifex etiam sic (200). Itaque *qualibet* ars *vel* exercitatio non potest non perpendi-attente* (201). *Confucius aie-

(195) A: Quamvis Cœlum omnibus hominibus eadem virtutis principia, eosdem humanitatis sensus infuderit, tamen studia et artes quibus vacant, illos, modo ad bonum, modo ad malum, impellunt.

Pages 124 & 125: "laedat" underlined twice; "laedantur" in margin; "Confucius" underlined



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vicerunt ipsum; *solummodo* secum-reputans quærit in se-ipso et nihil-amplius *.

§. L. Meng tseu ait : Tseu lou (213), *si* homines monerent eum, de *eo quod* haberet culpam, tunc lætabatur. *Imperator* Iu *si* audiret bonum (214) verbum, tunc *demisso capite loquentem* salutabat. Magnus *Imperator* Chun habebat *aliquid magis* magnum (i. e. majus) * (215)! Virtutem cum *omnibus* hominibus (216) communem-faciebat (i. e. omnium communem esse existimabat) (217). Abjiciens se-ipsum (218) sequebatur (i. e. imitabatur) *alios* homines. Gaudebat sumere *virtutis exemplum* ab *aliis* hominibus, ut exerceret virtutem.

lator, intra, animum suum magis perficere, extra, corpus suum magis rectum tenere singulis diebus studet ut tandem victoriam referat.

Nota. Veteres Sinæ scopi percussionem aut non-percussionem internæ virtutis perfectioni aut imperfectioni assignabant. Ideo ut de alicujus virtute vel pravitate certiores fierent eum jaculo scopum petere jubebant. Vid. *Gaubil* Chou king, p. 37, l. 12.

(213) A : Confucii discipulus.

(214) H : Illi, tanquam pro accepto beneficio gratias, agebat. *Bonum verbum* i. e. (H) verbum sibi ac suo regno utile.

(215) H : *Chun* discipulum *Tseu lou* et Imperatorem *Iu* longe superavit.

(216) B : Omnium imperii virorum virtutem pro bono omnium communi habens, non spectabat utrum virtus in se vel in aliis resideret. Ita ut si plebeio homini virtute præstaret, libenter illi exemplum præbebat; si vero illi inferior esset, ab illo exemplum sumere gestiebat.

(217) H : Si summam virtutem nondum attigisset.

(218) H : I. e. Neutiquam in suâ agendi ratione, si minus perfecta esset, pertinaciter se obfirmabat.

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§. LI. Ex *quo* * agros-coluit (219), *vel* figulinam-artem-exercuit (220), *vel* piscationi-vacavit (221), * usquedum esset imperator (222), non-fuit *ullum temporis punctum*, *in quo* (223), *data occasione*, *exemplum* non assumpserit ab hominibus *. Assumere ab hominibus ad exercendam virtutem, *illud* est (223 *a*) dando hominibus exercere virtutem **. Itaque, *inter* * sapientis (224) *perfectiones*, nihil *est magis* magnum (i. e. majus) ¶ quam dando hominibus exercere virtutem.

§. LII. Meng tseu ait : Pe i, *si princeps* (225) non *esset* ejus princeps, non serviebat *ei*; *si amicus* (226) non *esset*

(219) H : Cum privatus vir esset, agros coluit in campis *Li chan* (4,667-2,275).

(220) H : Figulinam artem exercuit in oppido *Ho pin* (4,896-4,311).

(221) Perperam Noël : *In lacu Lu y tse*. H : Piscationi vacavit in lacu *Loui tse* (11,954-5,168).

(222) H : Quando in potestatem imperatoris *Yao* successit.

(223) Si quid perfectius in aliis animadverteret.

(223 *a*) Perperam Noël : *Communem cum omnibus hominibus virtutem exercere*. Hic *iu* (8,701) non significat *cum*, *simul*, sed *dare*, *concedere* (G. 9,977). C : Qui virtutis exemplum ab alio desumit, eum ad majorem profectum incitat ac proinde aliquid illi *dare* (*iu*) censetur. Verbum *iu* per *adjuvare* (874) etiam interpretari licet. Assentiunt B, H et vers. Tart. H : Quando aliorum virtutem in nobis experimendam excerpimus, illud eos magis ac magis ad virtutem stimulat ac proinde *adjuvat*.

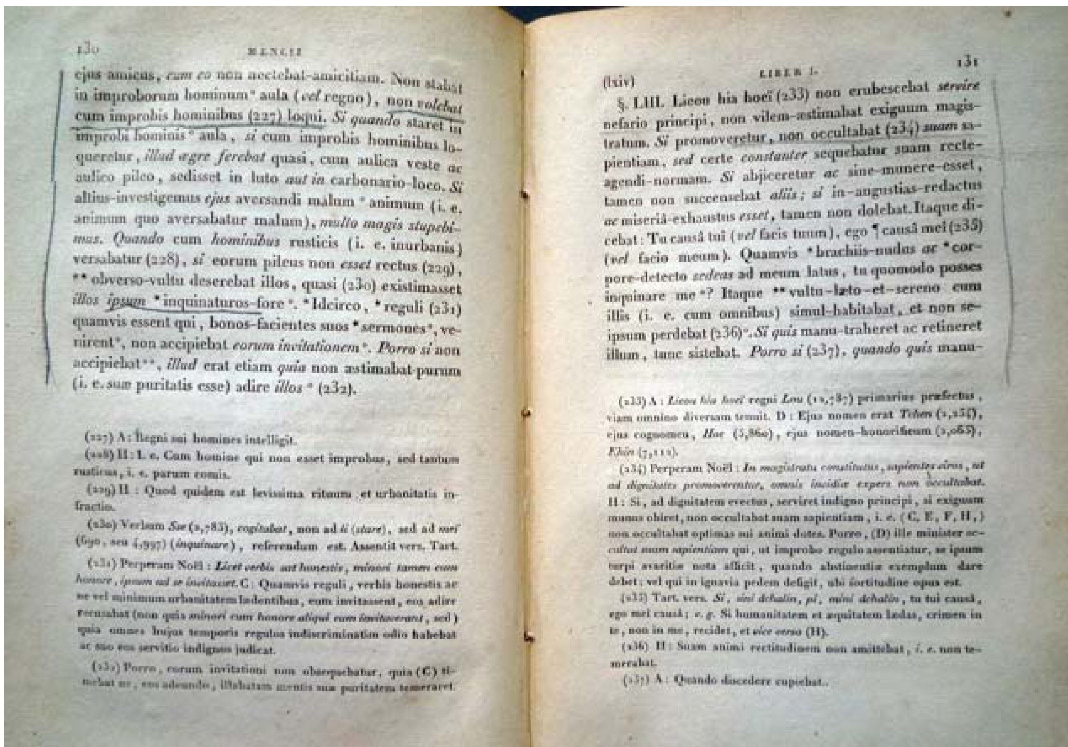
(224) H : Tacite innuit Imperatorem *Chun* (8,727).

(225) C : Eligebat principem virtute et ingenio præditum, et deinde serviebat ei. Vide supra not. 116-117.

(226) C : Eligebat probum amicum, et deinde amicitiam illius inibat. Si vir is non esset cujus ad amicitiam, illæsa honestate, se adjungere posset, ita ut eum suum amicum dicere non posset (*fei khi yeou*). Vid. supra not. 116-117.

9

Pages 128 & 129: line in margin only on p. 129



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ejus amicus, *cum eo* non accipiebat-amicitiam. Non stabat in improborum hominum * aula (*vel* regno), non volebat cum improbis hominibus (227) loqui. *Si quando* staret in improbi hominis * aula, *si* cum improbis hominibus loqueretur, *illud ægre ferebat* quasi, cum aulica veste ac aulico pileo, sedisset in luto *aut in* carbonario-loco. *Si* altius-investigemus *ejus* aversandi malum * animum (i. e. animum quo aversabatur malum), *multo magis stupebimus. Quando* cum *hominibus* rusticis (i. e. inurbanis) versabatur (228), *si* eorum pileus non *esset* rectus (229), ** obverso-vultu deserebat illos, quasi (230) existimasset *illos ipsum* * inquinaturos-fore *. * Idcirco, * reguli (231) quamvis essent qui, bonos-facientes suos * sermones *, venirent *, non accipiebat *eorum invitationem* *. *Porro si* non accipiebat **, *illud* erat etiam *quia* non æstimabat-purum (i. e. suæ puritatis esse) adire *illos* * (232).

(227) A : Regni sui homines intelligit.

(228) H : I. e. Cum homine qui non esset improbus, sed tantum rusticus, i. e. parum comis.

(229) H : Quod quidem est levissima rituum et urbanitatis infractio.

(230) Verbum *Sse* (2,783), *cogitabat*, non ad *li* (*stare*), sed ad *mei* (690, seu 4,997) (*inquinare*), referendum est. Assentit vers. Tart.

(231) Perperam Noël : *Licet verbis aut honestis, minori tamen cum honore, ipsum ad se invitasset*. C : Quamvis reguli, verbis honestis ac se vel minimum urbanitatem lædentibus, eum invitassent, eos adire recusabat (non quia *minori cum honore aliqui eum invitaverant*, sed) quia omnes hujus temporis regulos indiscriminatim odio habebat ac suo eos servitio indignos judicat.

(232) Porro, eorum invitationi non obsequebatur, quia (C) timebat ne, eos adeundo, illibatam mentis suæ puritatem temeraret.

(lxiv) LIBER I. 131

§. LIII. Lieou hia hoei (233) non erubescebat *servire* nefario principi, non vilem-æstimabat exiguum magistratum. *Si* promoveretur, non occultabat (234) *suam* sapientiam, *sed* certe *constanter* sequebatur suam recte-agendi-normam. *Si* abjiceretur *ac* sine-munere-esset, tamen non succensebat *aliis*; *si* in-angustias-redactus *ac* miseriâ-exhaustus *esset*, tamen non dolebat. Itaque dicebat : Tu causâ tui (*vel* facis tuum), ego ¶ causâ mei (235) (*vel* facio meum). Quamvis * brachiis-nudis *ac* * corpore-detecto *sedeas* ad meum latus, tu quomodo posses inquinare me *? Itaque ** vultu-læto-et-sereno cum illis (i. e. cum omnibus) simul-habitabat, et non se-ipsum perdebat (236) *. *Si quis* manu-traheret ac retineret illum, tunc sistebat. *Porro si* (237), *quando quis* manu-

(233) A : *Lieou hia hoei* regni *Lou* (12,787) primarius præfectus, viam omnino diversam tenuit. D : Ejus nomen erat *Tchen* (2,254), ejus cognomen, *Hoe* (5,860), ejus nomen-honorificum (2,065), *Khin* (7,112).

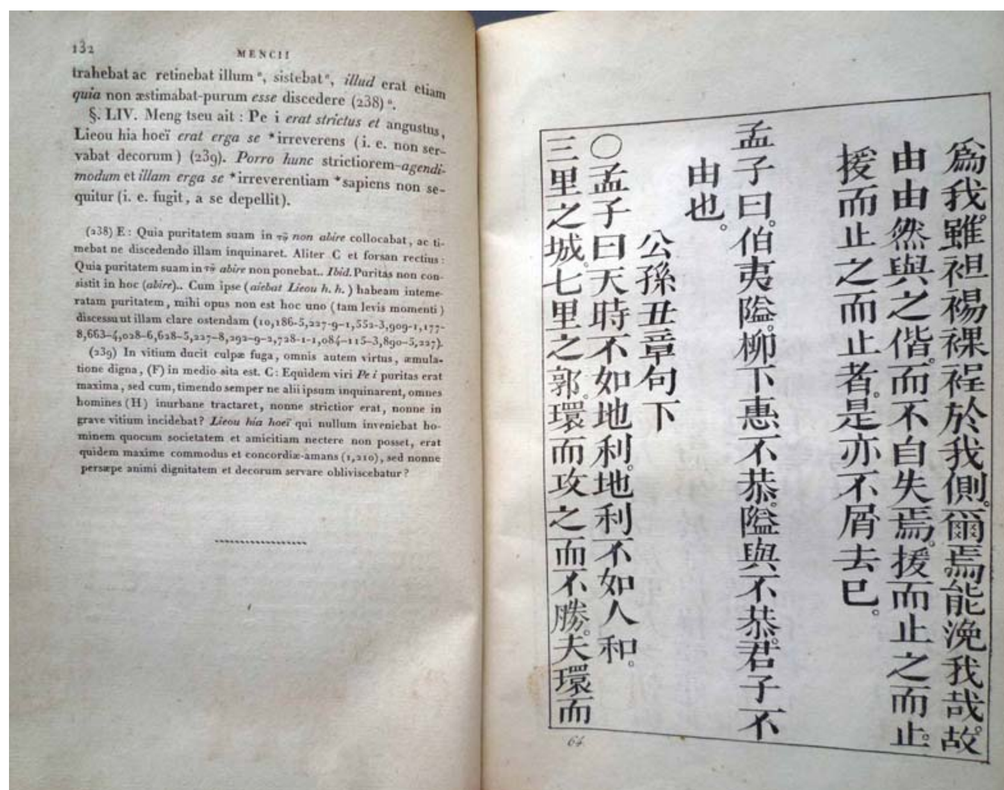
(234) Perperam Noël : *In magistratu constitutus, sapientes viros, ut ad dignitates promoverentur, omnis invidiæ expers non occultabat.* H : Si, ad dignitatem evectus, serviret indigno principi, si exiguum munus obiret, non occultabat suam sapientiam, i. e. (C, E, F, H,) non occultabat optimas sui animi dotes. Porro, (D) ille minister occultat suam sapientiam qui, ut improbo regulo assentiatur, se ipsum turpi avaritiæ nota afficit, quando abstinentiæ exemplum dare debet; vel qui in ignavia pedem defigit, ubi fortitudine opus est.

(235) Tart. vers. *Si, sini dchalin, pi, mini dchalin*, tu tui causâ, ego mei causâ; *e. g.* Si humanitatem et æquitatem lædas, crimen in te, non in me, recidet, et *vice versa* (H).

(236) H : Suam animi rectitudinem non amittebat, *i. e.* non temerabat.

(237) A : Quando discedere cupiebat.

Pages 130 & 131: lines in margin and underlines only on p. 130; smudges on p. 131



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trahebat ac retinebat illum*, sistebat*, *illud* erat etiam *quia* non æstimabat-purum *esse* discedere (238)*.

§. LIV. Meng tseu ait : Pe i *erat strictus et* angustus, Lieou hia hoeï *erat erga se* *irreverens (i. e. non servabat decorum) (239). *Porro hunc* strictiorem-*agendi-modum* et *illam erga se* *irreverentiam *sapiens non sequitur (i. e. fugit, a se depellit).

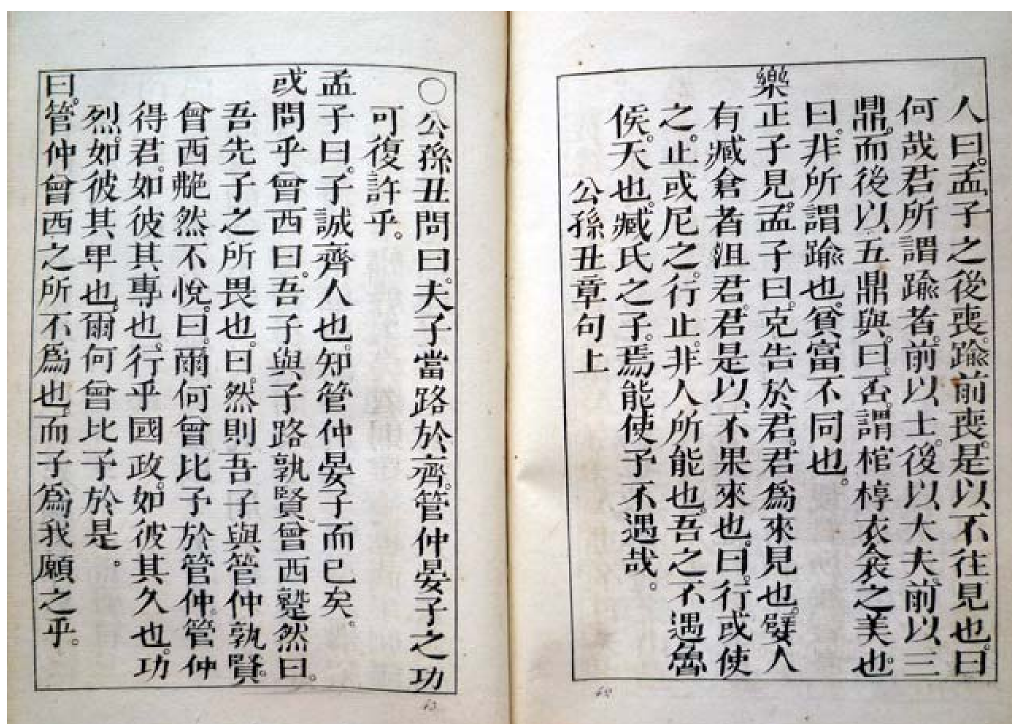
(238) E : Quia puritatem suam in τῷ *non abire* collocabat, ac timebat ne discedendo illam inquinaret. Aliter C et forsan rectius : Quia puritatem suam in τῷ *abire* non ponebat.. *Ibid.* Puritas non consistit in hoc (*abire*).. Cum ipse (*aiebat Lieou h. h.*) habeam intemeratam puritatem, mihi opus non est hoc uno (tam levis momenti) discessu ut illam clare ostendam (10,186-5,227-9-1,552-3,909-1,177-8,663-4,028-6,628-5,227-8,292-9-2,728-1-1,084-115-3,890-5,227).

(239) In vitium ducit culpæ fuga, omnis autem virtus, æmulatione digna, (F) in medio sita est. C : Equidem viri *Pe i* puritas erat maxima, sed cum, timendo semper ne alii ipsum inquinarent, omnes homines (H) inurbane tractaret, nonne strictior erat, nonne in grave vitium incidebat? *Lieou hia hoeï* qui nullum inveniebat hominem quocum societatem et amicitiam nectere non posset, erat quidem maxime commodus et concordiæ-amans (1,210), sed nonne persæpe animi dignitatem et decorum servare obliviscebatur ?

爲我雖袒裼裸裎於我側爾焉能浼我哉故
由由然與之偕而不自失焉援而止之而止
援而止之而止者是亦不屑去已
孟子曰伯夷隘柳下惠不恭隘與不恭君子不
由也
公孫丑章句下
○孟子曰天時不如地利地利不如人和
三里之城七里之郭環而攻之而不勝夫環而

64

Page 132 (last page of translation) & page 64 (last page of Chinese text that begins in back)



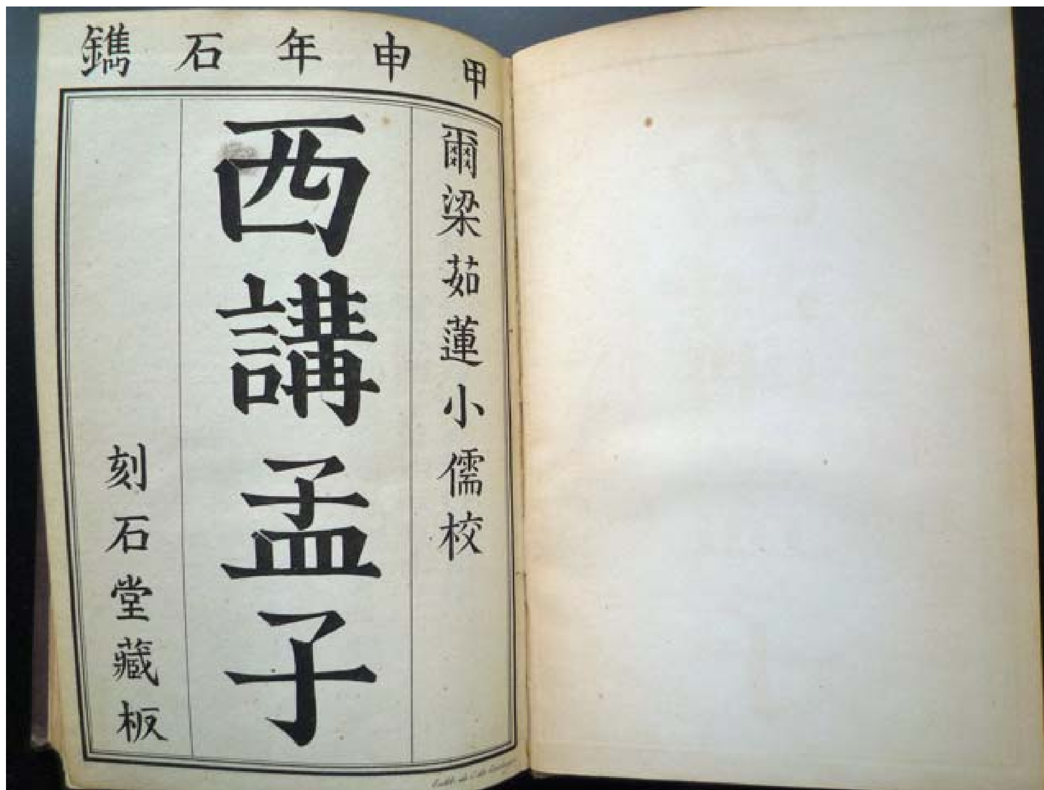
人曰孟子之後喪踰前喪是以不往見也曰
何哉君所謂踰者前以士後以大夫前以三
鼎而後以五鼎與曰否謂棺槨衣衾之美也
曰非所謂踰也貧富不同也
樂正子見孟子曰克告於君君爲來見也嬖人
有臧倉者沮君君是以不果來也曰行或使
之止或尼之行止非人所能也吾之不遇魯
侯天也臧氏之子焉能使予不遇哉
公孫丑章句上

42

○公孫丑問曰夫子當路於齊管仲晏子之功
可復許乎
孟子曰子誠齊人也知管仲晏子而已矣
或問乎曾西曰吾子與子路孰賢曾西蹵然曰
吾先子之所畏也曰然則吾子與管仲孰賢
曾西艴然不悅曰爾何曾比予於管仲管仲
得君如彼其專也行乎國政如彼其久也功
烈如彼其卑也爾何曾比予於是
曰管仲曾西之所不爲也而子爲我願之乎

43

Pages 42 & 43 of the Chinese text (sample; no markings by Schopenhauer in Chinese text part)



Last page of Julien’s *Meng tseu*; title page of Chinese text which begins from back

APPENDIX 8: SYNOPTIC EDITION OF SCHOPENHAUER'S SINOLOGY ESSAY (1836 & 1854)

1st ed. (1836)

<126>

Sinology.

Nothing may be more telling an indicator of the high standard of China's civilization than the almost unbelievable number of its inhabitants that, according to an official census of 1813, amounted to 361 $^{1}/_{2}$ million. Indeed, if we compare different periods and countries, we notice that, on the whole, the level of civilization and the number of inhabitants move in step.

Because of their pushy eagerness to teach the ancient Chinese people their own, comparatively recent beliefs, the Jesuit missions of the 17th and the 18th centuries did not manage to inform themselves about the beliefs that reign there. Thus Europe has only in the present age gained some knowledge of the religious landscape of China, and we know that there are three faiths. [First,] the ancient teaching of reason or world-order that was treated by the philosophers long before Confucius, the teaching of the principle inherent in all things, the great One, the lofty peak. It now seems to have receded very much to the background and its teachers appear to have fallen into discredit.

2nd ed. (1854)

Sinology.

<117>

Nothing may be more telling an indicator of the high standard of China's civilization than the almost unbelievable number of its inhabitants. According to Gützlaff, it is now estimated at 367 million. Indeed, if we compare different periods and countries, we notice that, on the whole, the level of civilization and the number of inhabitants move in step.

Because of their pushy eagerness to teach the ancient Chinese people their own comparatively recent beliefs, and because of their vanity-driven effort to look for earlier traces in China, the Jesuit missions of the 17th and the 18th centuries did not manage to thoroughly inform themselves about the beliefs that reign there. Thus Europe has only in the present age gained some knowledge of the religious landscape of China. We do know that there is, first of all, a national cult of nature that is common to all and that stems from the most ancient times—reportedly even from the times before man had discovered the use of fire, which is why the animal sacrifices were offered uncooked. To this cult belong the sacrifices that the emperor and the grand dignitaries publicly perform at set times or after great events. They are especially directed to the blue heavens and the earth—to the former at the winter and to the latter at

1st ed. (1836)	2nd ed. (1854)
	the summer solstice—and furthermore to all possible powers of nature such as the sea, mountains, rivers, winds, thunder, rain, **<118>** fire, etc., each of which is presided over by a genius to which numerous sanctuaries are dedicated. On the other hand, sanctuaries are also dedicated to the genii that are in charge of each province, town, village, street, and even family funeral and sometimes a shop; but these latter only receive a private cult. But the official cult is also rendered to the great former emperors, the founders of dynasties, and to heroes, i.e. to all those who have by their teachings or deeds become benefactors of (Chinese) mankind. These also have sanctuaries; Confucius alone has 1,650. Hence the great number of small sanctuaries all over China. Linked to this cult of heroes is that which every proper family dedicates to its ancestors on their graves.— Apart from this general cult of nature and heroes there are, from a more dogmatic point of view, three religious doctrines in China. First, that of the *Taossee*, founded by *Laotse*, the older contemporary of Confucius. It is the doctrine of reason, as the inner world order or inherent principle of all things, the great One, the lofty gable beam (*Taiki*) that carries all rafters of the roof yet hovers above them (properly the all-pervading world soul), and the *Tao*, i.e. the *Way*, namely to salvation, i.e. to deliverance from the world and its misery. A description of this teaching was given to us in 1842

1st ed. (1836)

Second, the wisdom of Confucius, which is especially popular with
<127> the scholars and politicians and which resembles a broad, somewhat common-place moral philosophy without a basis in metaphysics.

Finally, for the great mass of the nation, there is the solemn and loving teaching of the Buddha whose name in China is pronounced *Fo*, whereas in Tartary he is called Schakia-Muni, also Burkhan-Bakschi, but in India often Gotama.*

* For the general acquaintance with his life and his teaching I recommend especially a beautiful biography of his, as it were the gospel of the Buddhists, by Deshauterayes, in French in volume 7 of the *Journal Asiatique*, Paris 1825. — Likewise, one finds much valuable information about Buddhism in the *Mélanges Asiatiques*

2nd ed. (1854)

by *Stanislas Julien* in the translation of *Laotseu Taote-king*, wherein we see that the meaning and spirit of the doctrine of Tao are wholly congruent with those of Buddhism. Nevertheless, this sect seems now to have very much receded to the background and its teachers, the Taossee, fallen into discredit. —Second, we have the wisdom of Confucius, which is especially popular with the scholars and politicians. To judge from the translations, this is a broad, common-place, and for the most part political moral philosophy without any basis in metaphysics; it appears quite specifically insipid and boring. —Finally there is, for the great mass of the nation, the solemn and loving teaching of the Buddha whose name (or rather title) is in China pronounced as *Fo* or Fuh, whereas in Tartary the Victorious-Perfected One is called after his family name Schakia-Muni but also Burkhan-Bakschi, by the <119>
Burmese and in Ceylon mostly Gotama, also Tatágata, while he originally was called Prince Siddharta.#

For the benefit of those who want to get closer acquaintance with Buddhism I will here list from the relevant literature in European languages those publications which I, on account of my ownership and familiarity with them, can truly recommend; some others, for example by Hodgson and A. Rémusat, I omit on purpose.

1st ed. (1836)	2nd ed. (1854)
par Abel-Rémusat Vol. 1. 1825 — and also in J. J. Schmidt's *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen* [History of the Eastern Mongols] 1829. — And now that the Asiatic Society of Paris is finally in possession of the *Gandschur* or *Kaghiour*, we can look forward with joyful confidence to a presentation of Buddhism based on its own canonical books.	l) Dsanglun, or the Wise and the Fool, in Tibetan and German, by J. J. Schmidt, Petersb. 1843, 2 vols, 4., contains in the preface to the first (i.e. Tibetan) volume from pp. XXXI to XXXVIII a very short but excellent summary of the entire teaching, very useful for a first acquaintance with it; also, the entire book is to be recommended as a part of the *Kandschur* (canonical books). —2) By the same excellent author, several German lectures about Buddhism that were held between 1829 and 1832 and later in the Academy of St. Petersburg are to be found in the relevant volumes of the Academy Proceedings. As they are exceedingly valuable for the knowledge of this religion, it is very desirable that they be printed together and be published in Germany. — 3) By the same author: Researches about the Tibetans and Mongols, Petersb. 1824. — 4) By the same author: about the kinship of gnostic-theosophical teachings with Buddhism. 1828. — 5) By the same author: History of the East-Mongols, 1829. — 6) Two papers by Schiefner, in German, in the Melanges Asiat. tirés du Bulletin historico-philol. de l'acad. de St. Petersb. Tom. I. 1851. — 7) Samuel Turner's Journey to the court of the Teshoo Lama, a. d. E., 1801. — 8) Bochinger, la vie ascétique chez les Indous et les Bouddhistes, Strasb. 1831. — 9) In vol. 7 of the Journal Asiatique, 1825, there is an very beautiful biography of the Buddha by Deshauterayes. — 10) Burnouf, Introd. à l'hist. du Buddhisme, Vol. 1, 4. 1844. — 11) Rgya Tsher Rolpa, transl. from the Tibetan by Foucaux. 1848, 4. This is the Lalitavistara, i.e. the

1st ed. (1836)	2nd ed. (1854)
	life of the Buddha, the gospel of the Buddhists. — 12) Foe Koue Ki, relation des royaumes Bouddhiques, transl. from the Chinese by Abel Rémusat. 1836. 4. — 13) Déscription du Tubet, transl. from the Chinese into Russian by Bitchourin and from Russian into French by Klaproth. 1831. —14) Klaproth, fragmens Bouddhiques, offprint from the nouveau Journ. Asiat. March 1831. — 15) Spiegel, de officiis sacerdotum Buddhicorum, Palice et latine. 1841. — 16) By the same author, anecdota Palica, 1845. — 17) Asiatic researches, Vol. 6. Buchanan, on the religion of the Burmas; and Vol. 20, Calcutta 1839, part 2, contains three very important papers by *Csoma Körösi* that contain analyses of books of the Kandschur. — 18) Sangermano, the Burmese **<120>** Empire; Rome, 1833. — 19) Turnour, the Mahawanzo, Ceylon, 1836. — 20) Upham, the Mahavansi, Raja Ratnacari and Rajavali. 3 Vol. 1833. — 21) The same author's doctrine of Buddhism. 1829. fol. — 22) Spence Hardy, Eastern monachism, 1850. — 23) The same author's Manual of Budhism. 1853. These two excellent books that were written by its author after a twenty-year stay in Ceylon and oral instruction by its priests, have given me more insight into the innermost heart of Buddhist doctrine than any others. They merit being translated into German, but unabbreviated, as otherwise the best could easily be omitted.

1st ed. (1836)

His teaching reigns in the largest portion of Asia and counts according to Upham, the latest researcher, 300 million faithful, which probably constitutes the greatest number among all faiths of this planet. These three religions of China—of which the most widely adopted Buddhism, very much to its credit, subsists entirely without state protection and solely by its own power, are not in the least hostile toward each other; rather, they exist calmly side by side. They even have, possibly through mutual influence, a certain conformity with each other, which is why there is even an adage that "the three teachings are just one."

All of these three religions are neither monotheistic nor polytheistic and, at least in the case of Buddhism, also not pantheistic because the Buddha did not regard as theophany a world that is submerged in sin and suf-
<128> fering and whose beings, all destined to die, subsist for a short while by eating one another. Anyhow, the word pantheism essentially contains a contradiction

2nd ed. (1854)

This religion which, on account of its <120>
inherent excellence and truth as well as its majority of adherents, is to be regarded as the most noble on earth, reigns in the largest portion of Asia and counts according to Spence Hardy, the latest researcher, 369 million faithful, which is , far more than any other religion. —

These three religions of China, of which the most widely adopted Buddhism, very much to its credit, subsists entirely without state protection and solely by its own power, are not in the least hostile toward each other; rather, they exist calmly side by side. They even have, possibly through mutual influence, a certain conformity with each other, which is why there is even an adage that "the three teachings are just one". The emperor, for his part, professes all three; but many emperors until most recent times have been especially fond of Buddhism; evidence of this is found in their deep respect of the Dalai-Lama and the Teschu-Lama to which they unconditionally accord preeminence. — All of these three religions are neither monotheistic nor polytheistic and, at least in the case of Buddhism, also not pantheistic because the Buddha did not regard as theophany a world that is submerged in sin and suffering and whose beings, all destined to die, subsist for a short while by eating one another. Anyhow, the word pantheism essentially contains a contradiction

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and is a concept that cancels itself; thus it has never been regarded as more than a courteous expression by those who understand serious business. Thus the brilliant and sharp-witted philosophers of the past century never thought of not regarding Spinoza as an atheist because he called the world *Deus*: rather, this discovery was reserved for the clown philosophers of our times who know nothing but words and are even proud of this.	and is a concept that cancels itself; thus it has never been regarded as more than a courteous expression by those who understand serious business. Thus the brilliant and sharp-witted philosophers of the past century never thought of not regarding Spinoza as an atheist because he called the world *Deus*: rather, this discovery was reserved for the clown <121> philosophers of our times who know nothing but words, are even proud of this and speak of "acosmism": these jokers! As for me, I would like to give them the free advice to leave to the words their meanings, and to use a different word where one means a different thing - and thus to call the world "world" and the gods "gods".
The Europeans who made efforts to gain knowledge about the religious scene of China were at first, as is usual, aiming at similarities with their own indigenous religion.	The Europeans who made efforts to gain knowledge about the religious scene of China were at first, as is usual and as formerly also the Greeks and Romans in similar circumstances had done, aiming at similarities with their own indigenous religion.
Because in their mind the concept of religion was almost identical with that of theism, or at least so tightly fused that separation was not an easy task, and because before the arrival of more detailed information about Asia the opinion was current in Europe that all peoples of the globe venerate a sole God or at least	Because in their mind the concept of religion was almost identical with that of theism or at least so tightly fused that separation was not an easy task, and because before the arrival of more detailed information about Asia—for the purpose of the argument *e consensu gentium*—the very wrong opinion was current in Europe that all peoples of the globe venerate a sole God or at least

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a supreme God

and because they were in a country where they the saw many temples, priests and monasteries as well as frequently performed religious customs: all of this contributed to their firm presupposition that they were bound to find theism also there, even though its form might be very strange. After this expectation was disappointed it was, in view of the course that their inquiry had taken, only

natural that their first news of those religions consisted more
<129> of what they did *not* contain than of their positive content—the understanding of which must for various reasons be difficult for Europeans, for instance already because they have been brought up in optimism, whereas in those regions existence itself is seen as an ill and the world as a stage of misery on which one had better not be; then because of the decisive idealism that is essential to Buddhism as well as Hinduism—a view which is known in Europe only as a paradox that can hardly be seriously considered and is held by some abnormal philosophers, whereas in Asia it is integrated into the faith of the people. In Hindustan it is generally accepted as the teaching of *Maya*, and in Tibet, the headquarter of the Buddhist church, it is even presented in

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a supreme God and creator of the world,

and because they were in a country where they the saw many temples, priests and monasteries as well as frequently performed religious customs: all of this contributed to their firm presupposition that they were bound to find theism also there, even though its form might be very strange. After this expectation was disappointed and they had found that there was no conception of such things and no words to express them, it was, in accordance with the spirit in which they had performed their investigations, natural that their first news of those religions consisted more of what they did *not* contain than of their positive content—the understanding of which must for various reasons be difficult for Europeans, for instance already because they have been brought up in optimism, whereas in those regions existence itself is seen as an ill and the world as a stage of misery on which one had better not be; then because of the decisive idealism that is essential to Buddhism as well as Hinduism—a view which is known in Europe only as a paradox that can hardly be seriously considered and is held by some abnormal philosophers, whereas in Asia it is integrated into the faith of the people. In Hindustan it is generally accepted as the teaching of <122>
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very popular form in a religious comedy performed at important festivities. In this comedy, the Dalai-Lama is shown in a dispute with the chief devil. The former represents idealism, the latter realism. The latter says among other things: "What is cognized through the five sources of all cognition (the senses) is no illusion, and what you teach is not true." After long disputes, the matter is finally decided by throwing dice: the realist, i.e. the devil, loses and is chased away with general mockery. (according to a description of Tibet translated from the Chinese, found in *Asiatic Journal*, new series, Vol. 1. p. 15). If one keeps in mind these fundamental differences in the whole way of thinking, one will find it excusable, and even natural that the Europeans in their research on Asia's religions first stuck to the negative
<132> standpoint that is in fact foreign to the matter at hand. This is why we find a lot of negative utterances about them that do not advance positive knowledge at all.

For instance in the *Lettres édifiantes* (1819 edition, Vol. 8, p. 46) it is said: "The Buddhists, whose idea of transmigration was generally accepted, are accused of atheism,"

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Déscription du Tubet, transl. from the Chinese into Russian by Bitchourin, and from Russian into French by Klaproth, Paris 1831, p. 65. — Also in *Asiatic Journal, new series*, Vol. I, p. 15.

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and in *Asiatic Researches* Vol. 6, p. 255, "The religion of the Burmese (i.e. Buddhism) shows a nation far advanced from the crudeness of savage nature and is in all actions of life much under the influence of religious opinions; yet it is ignorant of a Supreme Being, the creator and preserver of the universe. However, the system of morality recommended by their fables is perhaps as good as any among the religious doctrines prevailing among mankind. — *Ibid*., p. 258: "Gotama's (i.e., Buddha's) followers are, strictly speaking, atheists." — *Ibid*., p. 180. "The sect of Godama regards the faith in a divine being, who created the universe, to be highly impious." — *Ibid*., on p. 268, Buchanan mentions that the Zarado or high priest of the Buddhists in Ava, Atuli, in an essay about his religion that he handed over to a Catholic bishop, counted among the six damnable heresies also the doctrine that "there exists a being who created the world and all things therein, and that this being alone is worthy of worship."

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Buchanan mentions that the Zarado or high priest of the Buddhists in Ava, Atuli, in an essay about his religion that he handed over to a Catholic bishop, counted among the six damnable heresies also the doctrine that "there exists a being who created the world and all things therein, and that this being alone is worthy of worship." The very same is reported by *Sangermano* in his *description of the Burmese empire*, Rome 1833, p. 81, where he concludes the listing of the six major heresies with the words: "the last of these impostors taught that there exists a Supreme Being, the Creator of the world and all things in it, and that he alone is worthy of adoration." In Colebrooke's *Essay*

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— No less do we see the learned sinologist *Morrison* in his *Chinese Dictionary*, Macao 1815 ff., Vol. 1, p. 217, labor to find in the Chinese dogmas the traces of a God, ready to interpret anything that seems to point in that direction
<131> most favorably. However, in the end he has to acknowledge that nothing like that can be distinctly identified. In the same volume, p. 268 ff., where he explains the words *Thung* and *Tsing*, i.e., rest and movement, on which Chinese cosmogony is based, he closes with the words: "It may be impossible to absolve this system from the accusation of atheism." — Recently, *Upham* also says in his *History and Doctrine of Buddhism*, Lond. 1829, p. 102: "Buddhism presents us a world without a moral ruler, steerer, or creator." — and

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on the philosophy of the Hindus in the *Transactions of the R. Asiat. Society*, Vol. I (which is also reprinted in his *Miscellaneous essays* he says on p. 236: "The sects of Jain and Buddha are indeed atheistic, as they do not recognize any creator of the world or supreme reigning providence." — On the same line, J. J. Schmidt in his "Forschungen über Mongolen und Tibeter," p. 180, states that "the system of Buddhism does not know an eternal, uncreated, singular divine being which existed before all time and created all visible and invisible things: this idea is entirely foreign to it, and in Buddhist books one does not find the slightest trace of it." — No less do we see the learned sinologist *Morrison* in his *Chinese Dictionary*, Macao 1815 ff., Vol. 1, p. 217, labor to find in the Chinese dogmas the traces of a God, ready to interpret anything that seems to point in that direction most favorably. However, in the end he has to acknowledge that nothing like that can be distinctly identified. In the same volume, p. 268 ff., where he explains the words *Thung* and *Tsing*, i.e., rest and movement, on which Chinese cosmogony is based, he closes with the words: "It may be impossible to absolve this system from the accusation of atheism." — Recently, *Upham* also says in his *History and Doctrine of Buddhism*, Lond. 1829, p. 102: <124>
"Buddhism presents us a world without a moral ruler, steerer, or creator." Likewise,

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p. 2: “Buddhism is accused of having completely excluded a creator and governor of the world from its system; and even though it can be positively proved that this is the true meaning of its teaching, it still admits the efficacy of fate (*Damata*), whereby much of the necessary procedure of maintenance and governance is introduced into the system.”

By these explications and quotations, I only wanted to introduce the very noteworthy passage whose presentation is the aim of the present section and make it easier to understand by recalling the standpoint from which such research was carried out and thereby clarifying its relation to its object of study. When the Europeans in China did their research in the above-mentioned way and attitude, always aiming their questions at the highest principle of all things, the power that reigns the world, etc., they had often been told about what is referred to by the word
<132> *Tien* (Engl. *T’hëen*). The literal meaning of this word is “Heaven,” as Morrison

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the German sinologist *Neumann* says on pp. 10 & 11 of the treatise mentioned below: “In China, in whose language neither Muslims nor Christians found a word to represent the theological concept of Godhead.” ——— “The words *God*, soul, spirit as something that is independent of matter and governs it at will, are unknown in the Chinese language.” ——— “This train of thought is so intimately fused with language that it is impossible to render the first verse of Genesis into real Chinese without a lengthy commentary.” — Just because of this, Sir George Staunton published in 1848 a book entitled *An inquiry into the proper mode of rendering the word God in translating the Sacred Scriptures into the Chinese language*).

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also indicates in his dictionary. But it is sufficiently well known that this word is also used figuratively and thus has a metaphysical meaning. Already in the *Lettres édifiantes* (edit. of 1819, Vol 11, p. 461) we find the following explanation about this: "*Hing-tien* is the material and visible heaven, *Chin-tien* the spiritual and invisible one." Sonnerat, too, in his Journey to East India and China, vol. 4, chapter 1, says: "When the Jesuits quarreled with the other missionaries whether the word *Tien* means heaven or God, the Chinese regarded these foreigners as an unruly people and chased them to Macao." At any rate, with this word the Europeans could first hope to be on the trail of the analogy of Chinese metaphysics and their own creed that they had sought with so much insistence. Research of this kind led to the result presented in a paper entitled "Chinese Theory of the Creation" that is found in *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. 22. Anno 1826.

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At the said place, pp. 41 & 42, it is thus

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said: “The word *Tien* would seem to denote “the highest of the great” or “above all that is great on earth”: but in practice its vagueness of signification is beyond all comparison greater, than that of the term Heaven in European languages. — — —

Confucius says that “to affirm, that heaven has *a man* (i. e. a sapient being) that is there to judge and determine crimes, should not by any means be said; nor, on the other hand, should it be af-
<133> firmed that there is nothing at all to exercise a supreme control over these things.”

“The same author was asked about the *heart of heaven*, whether it was intelligent or not, and answered: ‘one must not say that the mind of nature is unintelligent; but it has no resemblance to the cogitations of man’.” — — —

“According to one of their authorities, *Tien* is called ruler or sovereign (Tschu), because of the concept of supreme power, and another expresses himself in the following way about it: “if heaven (Tien) had no designing mind, then it would have to happen that a horse gets born from a cow and that the peach-tree produces the blossom of the pear.” — On the other hand it is said that *the mind of Heaven is deducible from what is the will of mankind!*” (By the exclamation mark, the English translator wanted to express his amazement.) I furnish the

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[English] text:

The word Teen *would seem to denote "the highest of the great" or "above all what is great on earth": but in practise its vagueness of signification is beyond all comparison greater, than that of the term* Heaven *in European languages. ——— Choo foo-tze tells us that "to affirm, that heaven has* a man *(i.e. a sapient being) there to judge and determine crimes, should not by any means be said; nor, on the other hand, must it be affirmed, that there is nothing at all to exercise a supreme control over these things."*

The same author being ask'd about the heart of heaven, *whether it*
<134> *was intelligent or not, answer'd: it must not be said that the mind of nature is unintelligent, but it does not resemble the cogitations of man. —————*

According to one of their authorities, Teen *is call'd ruler or sovereign (choo), from the idea of the supreme control, and another expresses himself thus: "had heaven (Teen) no designing mind, then it must happen, that the cow might bring forth a horse, and on the peach-tree be produced the blossom of the pear". On the other hand it is said, that the mind of Heaven is deducible from what is the Will of mankind!*"

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The agreement of this last statement with my teaching is so conspicuous and surprising that, had it not been printed fully eight years after the appearance of my work, one would surely claim that I had taken my fundamental idea from it. For it is known that against new thoughts there are three main bulwarks: Refusing to take notice, refusing to admit its validity, and claiming that it is old hat. However, with regard to the memorable passage just cited, it is not just that my priority (in Europe) is certain, but I have also in vain searched in all materials about China accessible to me for a confirmation and further elucidation of the Chinese dogma in question. Finally, I have also asked a famous sinologist about this, but he could not enlighten me further. One will, I hope, believe me that, ignorant of the Chinese language as I am, I was not in a position to adopt thoughts for my own use from Chinese original texts that are unknown to
<135> others—considering that the opposite is exceedingly rare and, where it occurs, does not remain unknown.

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and almost surely has been taken from Morrison's Chinese Dictionary where it should be found under the character *Tien*: however, I lack the opportunity to verify this. — *Illgen's* Zeitschrift für historische Theologie (Journal for historical Theology) vol. 7, 1837, contains an article by *Neumann* entitled "Die Natur- und Religions-Philosophie der Chinesen, nach dem Werke des *Tschu-hi*" ("The Chinese philosophy of nature and religion according to the work of Tschu-hi") in which, on pp. 60 to 63, there are passages that apparently have an identical source with those from the *Asiatic Journal*. However, they are trans-

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Our knowledge of China is still so insufficient and fragmentary and the number of sinologists so small that, without a stroke of luck, it may take many years until we learn more about the above-mentioned dogma that has been communicated in such deplorable brevity.

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lated with a haziness of expression that is so common in Germany and prevents a precise understanding. Furthermore, one notices that this translator of Tschu-hi does not fully understand his text — but he is not to be reproached for that in view of the very great difficulty of the language for Europeans and the inadequacy of available aids. In the meantime, we cannot cull from it the explanations we would like to have. We thus must seek consolation in the hope that, given the increased freedom of contact with China, some Englishman shall one day give us closer and more thorough explanations about the above-mentioned dogma that has been communicated in such deplorable brevity.

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